

THE LIFE AND WORKS

AMÍR HASAN DIHLAVÍ

Thesis submitted for Ph.D. Degree (Internal)

M. I. Borrah,

School of Oriental Studies.

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## THE LIFE AND WORKS OF AMÍR ḤASAN DIHLAVÍ

### A B S T R A C T

The dissertation has been divided into the following three principal divisions:

I. The Introduction, which presents a general survey of the origin and history of the development of Indo-Persian literature preceding the age of Ḥasan.

II. The life of the poet: Amír Ḥasan Dihlaví, the son of a Persian emigrant to India, named 'Alá-u'd-Dín Sanjarí, was one of the greatest Indo-Persian poets who flourished during the late seventh and early eighth centuries of the Híjra. He was born at Delhi in A.H. 651 (A.D. 1253), during the reign of Násir-u'd-Dín Mahmúd. He began to compose verse when he was a child of thirteen, and devoted himself to the art of poetry for a period of fifty years. In the prime of his youth he attached himself to the court of Ghíyás-u'd-Dín Balban and his son Princee Muḥammad, in whose service he spent five years at Multán, together with his contemporary Amír Khusraw. After the fall of the House of Balban he lived under the patronage of the Khaljí Kings, and at the age of fifty-six he became a disciple of Nizám-u'd-Dín Awliyá. He died in A.H. 729 (A.D. 1328) at Dawlatábád when Sultan Muḥammad Tughlaq transferred the capital from Delhi and forced its population to migrate there.



### III. His works:

His extant political works are contained in a *Díván*, which comprises about ten thousand couplets, containing *Qasidas*, *Ghazals*, *Qita's*, *Rubáyís*, and a romantic *Masnawí* called *Hikáyat-i-Ashiq-i-Nágurí*. His prose works that have survived to us are a short piece of *Marsiya* written on the occasion of the death of Prince Muhammad, and the *Fawá'id-u'l-Fu'ád*, a collection of discourses made by his spiritual guide at a number of successive meetings held during the years A.H. 707-722 (A.D./307-22).

None of his works has yet been published. This is the first systematic attempt that has ever been made to bring him to the notice of the modern world.

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| (b) Ghazals         | 117 |
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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS.

C O N T E N T S

Add. = Additional (Mark of the Manuscripts in the British Museum)

PAGE

A.E.G. = Arabic History of Gujarat.

Abbreviations ..... I

S.N. = Saqiya Saqiya of Amir Khusrau.

Introduction ..... 1

Barani = Tarikh-i-Firuz-Shahi of Ziya u'd-Din Barani.

Chapter :

Bedisni = Mustakhab u'l-Favarish of 'Abd u'l-Qadir-Al-

I The Life of Amir Hasan Dihlavi 31

II His Works 106

B.O.L. = Bodleian Library, Oxford.

(a) Qasidas 110

B.P.L. = (b) Ghazals 117

III His Minor Poems 160

Br.Ms. = British Museum Manuscript.

IV His Prose Works 178

B.P.L. Bibliography ..... 191

Cat. Pers. MSS. = Catalogue of Persian Manuscripts.

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C.H.I. = Cambridge History of India.

C.M. = Chahar-Nafila.

D.R. = Dast-i-Bamshad.



LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS.

- Add. = Additional (Mark of the Manuscripts in the British Museum)
- A.H.G. = Arabic History of Gujarát.
- B.N. = BaQiya NaQiya of Amír Khusraw.
- Baraní = Taríkh-i-Firúz-Sháhi of Ziyá u'd-Dín Baraní.
- Badáúní = Muntakhab u't-Tavárikh of 'Abd u'l-Qádir-Al-Badáúní.
- Bodl. = Bodleian Library, Oxford.
- B.P.L. = Bankipore Public Library.
- Br.Ms. = British Museum Manuscript.
- C.P.B. = Catalogue of Persian Manuscript of the Bankipore Public Library.
- Cat. Pers. MSS. = Catalogue of Persian Manuscripts.
- C.H.I. = Cambridge History of India.
- C.M. = Chastár-MaQála.
- D.H. = Diván-i-Hasan.



D.H., I.O.L. = Díván-i-Hasan; India Office Library,  
No. 1223.

D.H.B. = Díván-i-Háfiz, Brockhaus edition.

D.T.S. = Dawlat Sháh's Tazkirat-u'sh-Shu'ará.

Elliot = Elliot's History of India.

Ency. Isl. = Encyclopædia of Islam.

Ency. Br. = Encyclopædia Britannica.

F.F. = Favá'id-u'l-Fu'ád.

G.K. = Ghurrat-u'l-Kamál.

G.M.S. = Gibb Memorial Series.

H.D.I. = Hughes' Dictionary of Islam.

Ibn-Batūta = Tuḥfat-u'n-Nuẓẓar-fí-Gharáib-al-Amṣár.

I.K. = I'jáz-i-Khusraví.

I.O.L. = India Office Library.

J.N.U. = Jámí's Nafahat-u'l-Uns.

J.R.A.S. = Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.



- K.A. = Khulásat-u'l-Afkár.  
 K.B. = Khayr-u'l-Bayán.  
 Pers. Man. = Persian Manuscripts.  
 K.A.Z.A. = Khulásat-u'l-Ashár-va-Zubdat-u'l-Afkár.  
 R.M. = Ráhat-u'l-Muhibbín.  
 K.K. = Kulliyát-i-Kháqání.  
 H.S. = Háfiz-u'sh-Shu'ará.  
 K.S. = Kalimát-u'sh-Shu'ará.  
 S.A. = Siyar-u'l-Arifín.  
 L.H.P. = Brown's Literary History of Persia.  
 S.H. = Shihí No'mání's Shi'r-u'l-Ajam.  
 M.A. = Mir'át-u'l-Asrár.  
 S. Ar. = Sa'ínat-u'l-Arifín.  
 M.F. = Majma'-u'l-Fuṣahá.  
 S. An. = Siyar-u'l-Anliyá.  
 Mif.F. = Miftáh-u'l-Futúḥ.  
 T.A.S. = Tabaqát-i-Akbar Shuhí.  
 M.G. = Makhzan-u'l-Gharáib.  
 T.P.E. = Ta'ríkh-i-Fakhr-u'l-Din Muḥarrak-Shah.  
 M.K. = Mir'át-u'l-Khayál.  
 T.M.S. = Tájiq-u'l-Ma'ásh.  
 My.K. = May Khána.  
 T.B. = Tabaqát-i-Báqirí.  
 MSS. = Manuscripts.  
 T.S.D. = Tavaríkh-i-Salátn-i-Dalá.  
 M.T.L. = Maṭlub-u't-Tálibín.  
 N.P. = Sir Ouseley's Notices of Persian Poets.



Introduction.

Or. = Oriental (Mark of the Manuscripts in the British Museum).

Pers. Mss. = Persian Manuscripts.

R.M. = Ráhat-u'l-Muhibbín.

R.S. = Rimáz-u'sh-Shu'ará.

S.A. = Siyar-u'l-'Árifín.

S.N. = Shiblí No'mání's Shi'r-u'l-'Ajam.

S. Ar. = Safinat-u'l-'Árifín.

S.Au. = Siyar-u'l-Awliya.

T.A.S. = TabaQát-i-AkBar Sháhí.

T.F.N. = Ta'rikh-i-Fakhr-u'd-Dín Mubáarak-Sháh.

T.M.S. = Tájou'l-Ma'ásir.

T.N. = TabaQát-i-Násirí.

T.S.D. = Tavárikh-i-Saláṭín-i-Delhi.

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## Introduction.

### SCOPE OF THE INTRODUCTION.

As every man is influenced more or less by heredity and environments, so in order to make a proper estimate of the life and works of a great personality, it is necessary to know something not only of his own time but also of the preceding age, which leaves behind it a certain heritage to act and re-act upon the minds of the succeeding generation. Therefore, in this dissertation on the life and works of Amīr Hasan Dīlāwī, one of the greatest Indo-persian poets of the early Muslim period, I propose to give a brief survey of the origin and development of the persian language and literature in India up to the time of our poet. In dealing with this subject I shall also have to make frequent references to the political condition of the Country, which was an important factor in its development.

### STATE PATRONAGE IS A GREAT FACTOR IN THE

### DEVELOPMENT OF PERSIAN LITERATURE.

The growth of Persian literature whether in Persia or elsewhere is concomitant with the rise and fall of the ruling <sup>power</sup> and the patronage it receives from the Court. The Royal Courts were not only the centres of political activity, but also of literary and scientific pursuits; to



ordinary zeal which he displayed in the acquisition of them poets and scholars used to flock together from different parts of the realm. Sometimes the different neighbouring Kings, animated by a sense of rivalry, try to excel one another in their munificence and in their patronage of the poets and learned men of their time. This fact has been fully demonstrated during the early Ghaznaví period when there were four centres of culture in Persia, apart from Ghaznín, namely the Burvaḥid minister, the Ṣāhib-Ismaʿīl-bin-Abbād, who resided generally at Isṭahān or Ray; the Sāmānide Court at Bukhárá, the Court of Shams-a'Ḍ Maʿlī Qāḥis-bin-Washmgír in Tabaristán, and the Khv́erazm-sháhs in Khiva. (1) Each of these rulers tried to compete with his rival in adorning his court with the best intellects of the age.

#### SULTAN MAHMÚD'S ZEAL FOR MAKING HIS COURT A CENTRE OF LEARNING.

Of these Courts the most magnificent was that of Sultan Mahmúd of Ghaznín who had excelled all his contemporaries in his attempt to make his court the centre of intellectual activity. He was surrounded by four hundred poets (2) who received allowances from the State Treasury. The extra

(1) L.H.P. vol. 2, P. 102.

(2) D.T.S., P. 44.

(3) C.H.S. text, pp. 75-78, Tr. given pp. 83-86.



ordinary zeal which he displayed in the acquisition of learned men to adorn his Court had led some critics to call him 'a great kidnapper of literary men.'<sup>(1)</sup> The author of the *Chahárma<sup>(2)</sup>tála* states that when Sultan Mahmúd heard of the merits and scholarship of the great scientist and philosopher *Avicenna* *Alí-rúní*, the historian and chronologist, *Abú-Sahl-Masíhí* the philosopher, and *Abú Naṣr 'Arráq* the mathematician, who were staying at the Court of *Mámún-bin-Mámún*, the Prince of Khiva, he desired to bring them all to his Court; and with this end in view he sent one of his officers, *Husayn-bin-'Alí-bin-Mikáíl*, with a letter to the Prince demanding their presence at his Court. Two of these scholars, namely *Avicenna* and *Abú-Sahl*, who were unwilling to come to Ghaznín made their escape with the connivance of *Mámún*, and the other three, being lured by accounts of Mahmúd's generosity, came to his Court.

Mahmúd had a genuine love of learning. In the year A.H.409 (A.D.1018), when he returned to Ghaznín with much wealth from an invasion of India, he had built a great Cathedral Mosque with pillars of marble and alabaster at Ghaznín, and a College with a large endowment was attached to it. This action of the King gave a further impetus to

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(1) L.H.P. Vol.4. p.95.

(2) G.M.S.Tent, pp.76-78, Tr.Bronen pp.85-86.



the advancement of learning, and all his nobles followed his example by founding mosques and colleges with the necessary endowments for their maintenance. (1) His reign has proved to be one of the outstanding periods of Persian literature in which we find the full expression of the Persian-renaissance. A careful study of this period bears testimony to the fact that Court patronage in the mediæval East was of the greatest importance in the development of learning.

THE CONDITIONS UNDER WHICH PERSIAN LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE WAS INTRODUCED AND DEVELOPED IN INDIA.

The conditions under which the Persian language and literature <sup>were</sup> introduced into India and developed there are mainly political. It is with the growth of the political <sup>power</sup> pioneer of the Persian speaking people and the gradual establishment of their permanent rule over the Country, that <sup>the</sup> Persian language and literature gained a strong footing in the land and thus developed under the patronage of the reigning monarchs. The history of the development of Indo-Persian literature is invariably bound up with the rise of the Muslim power in India.

(1) Firishta, Vol. 1. p. 51.

not a source!



## THE ESTABLISHMENT OF MUSLIM RULE IN INDIA.

Although a certain portion of India was conquered by the Arabs as early as the beginning of the eighth century of the Christian era, and although Muslim dynasties were ruling at Mangura until A.D. 976 and at Multán to a later date, yet India in general was free from the sway of Islam until the beginning of the eleventh century when (the) Muslim invaders made their appearance from Afghánistán. The foundation of a Muslim empire in India may be said to have been laid by the Ghaznavides, and Mahmúd of Ghaznín is the first Muslim Conqueror of India, in the strict sense of the term. His successive campaigns ranging from A.D. 1000 - 1026, mark the beginning of a new era in Indian history and his formal annexation of the the Punjab in A.H. 412 (A.D. 1021) as an integral part of his dominion may be considered as the first step towards the consolidation of a Muslim empire in India. The circumstances under which he annexed the Punjab have been described thus:-(1)

"In the year A.H. 412 (A.D. 1021) he led an expedition to Kashmir and ~~besieged~~ besieged lahkút for a period of one month. As it was more strongly fortified than before, he was unable to take it. Therefore he abandoned this plan

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(1) Firishta vol.1 p.53



refuge with the Ajmere. The Sultan captured the City of

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(1) One of the chieftains of Ajmere. The Muslim historians do not give the name of this Raja. According to the prithivi-

Raja and marched towards Lahore. The army was dispersed throughout the neighbouring country and succeeded in capturing an enormous booty. On this occasion the Nateira-

(1) l-Jaipal was very weak and powerless so he fled and took

his refuge with the Ajmere. The Sultan captured the City of

1913, pp. 266-270, and Epigraphia Indica Vol. L. p. 318, p. 319.

(1) The grandson of Jaipal. This King is also known

by the name of Nedar-Bhim or Bhimpal the Fearless

(Vide Camb. Hist. of India Vol. III, pp. 21-22, and prof.

Habib's Sultan Mahmud, p. 44.) with Sultan Mahmud in which

the latter suffered defeat. (Vide Intro. to Gaudavaho, p. CXXIV).

Sultan Mahmud's expedition to Somnath was led in the year A.D.

419 (A.D. 1024-25) when he passed through Ajmere. According to

Prithvi (Vol. I p. 64) the King of Ajmere fled at the approach of

Mahmud. Mahmud then plundered the city and marched to Somnath

without meeting the King. The account given by these two his-

torians as to the result of this conflict at Ajmere is entirely

different. It is probable that the Raja offered a strong resis-

tance and Mahmud finding this war to be unprofitable, left the

fort unoccupied and marched to Somnath. However, probably

when he was near Somnath he was defeated by Mahmud.

to Mahmud's defeat at Ajmere. I think this is the Raja with whom

Bhimpal took refuge at Ajmere when he was defeated by Mahmud in

1021.



*Rai of (1)*

refuge with the <sup>Ajmere</sup>. The Sultan captured the City of

(1) One of the <sup>Chauhan</sup> Rajas of Ajmere. The Muslim historians do not give the name of this Rájá. According to the *prithiñi-Rájá Vijaya* a historical poem, written about A.D. 1178, by a Kashmiri pandit recording the gallant deeds of the Chauhan Kings of Ajmere, there were four Kings of this dynasty i.g. (1) Vigraha-Rájá I, (2) Durlabharájá II, (3) Govindarájá II, (4) Vakpatirájá II, whose reign covers a period from A.D. 973-1040 (vide J.R.A.S. 1913, pp. 266-270, and *Epigraphica Indica* Vol. 2, p. 116), *probandha-kāsa* a Jaina ~~work~~, believed to be about five hundred years old <sup>gives</sup> in its *Colophon* a list of Kings of the Chauhans of Ranthambhor or Ajmere. According to this list Govindarájá II who is also known as Gandurájá had an encounter with Sultan Mahmūd in which the latter suffered defeat. (Vide Intro. to *Gandavaho*, p. CXXXVI). Sultan Mahmūd's expedition to Somnath was led in the year D.H. 415 (A.D. 1024-25) when he passed through Ajmere. According to *Firishta* (Vol. 1 p. 54) the King of Ajmere fled at the approach of Mahmūd. Mahmūd then plundered the city and marched to Somnath without subduing the fort. The account given by these two historians as to the result of this conflict at Ajmere is entirely different. It is probable that the Raja offered a strong resistance and Mahmūd finding this ~~size~~ to be unprofitable, left the fort unconquered and marched to Somnath. However *probandha-kāsa* tells us one fact that Govindarájá II was a contemporary to Mahmūd ruling at Ajmere. I think this is the Rájá with whom Bhimpāl took refuge at Ajmere when he was defeated by Mahmūd in 1021.



Lahore, and having assigned it to a reliable Amír and the rest of the Punjab to capable officers, he turned his attention from plunder to the establishment of regular government. A garrison of the victorious army was posted there<sup>(1)</sup> and the "Khutba" was read in his name. Then he returned to Ghaznín in early spring."

From this time begins the rise of the Muslim power in India. After the death of Mahmúd when his successors had lost their possessions in Persia and Central Asia and Afghánistán, they had to fall back upon the Kingdom of the Punjab and thus founded Turco-Persian dynasties. This paved the way for others to come in later times and establish their supremacy over the length and breadth of the country.

THE INFLUENCE OF MUSLIM RULE ON INDIAN RELIGIONS AND CULTURE. It is a wonderful phenomenon in the history of the world that wherever the banner of Islam is carried a great transformation in the religious, social, and intellectual activities of the conquered races immediately follows. The history of the spread of Islam and the expansion of the Muslim empire amply testify to this fact. Persia itself had to undergo a great transformation after

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1. The reading of the name of the sovereign in the "Khutba" or Friday sermon proclaims the un-assailable suzerainty of the monarch where it is read.



its conquest by the Arabs. The Arab conquest had not only overthrown the tottering House of Saasan but also brought about a complete change in the religion, society, language and culture of the country, which no foreign conquest ever could do. So Néldek<sup>2</sup> remarks: "Hellenism never touched more than the surface of persian life; but Írán was penetrated to the core by Arabian religion and Arab ways."<sup>(1)</sup>

Although the successors of the great Arab conquerors could not entirely overthrow the religions of Iddia and supplant them by their own, they gradually brought a considerable number of the population under the banner of Islam. This religion had indirectly produced a great influence on the theological conceptions of the Hindus. The Hindus, coming in direct contact with Muslim thought, evolved a set of ideals which almost approached the monatheistic principle of Islam, as opposed to their strict polytheism. The efforts of the later Hindu reformers are more or less a manifestation of this lasting impression which Islam has made on their social and religious fabrics. This influence is felt more in the North than in the South of India. The less rigid observance of the custom of un-touchability in Northern India than the south is greatly due to the constant



presence of a faith which actively insisted on the equality of man before the eyes of the Creator. Besides these reactions on the religious and social institutions of the Hindus, it has also <sup>left</sup> impressed its mark on the Indian languages by contributing a large number of persian words to the native vocabularies. In course of time, this influence became so paramount, that an entirely new language has grown up in the country known as "Urdu" or camp language. It is formed out of persian and an indigenous language called Braja-Bhāsa which in later times became the lingua-franca of India. This is one of the finest <sup>or</sup> modern Indian languages and is spoken by a large number of people, both Hindus and Muslims alike. It has also produced an extensive literature.

#### THE FORCES THAT CONTRIBUTED TO THE DEVELOPMENT OF PERSIAN LITERATURE IN INDIA.

There are several forces internal and external, which contributed to the development of Persian literature in India. The adoption of the Persian language by the Turco-Persian rulers of the country as the language of the court and belles lettres necessitated its study by the native population in order to gain a footing in the business of



of the State and to enjoy other facilities which were open to them; and a knowledge of Persian in those days, was considered as a sign of refinement and culture, just as English is in modern times. With the advent of Muslim rule a large number of Persian scholars emigrated to India, and the irruption of the Mongol horde from Central Asia and their destruction<sup>24</sup> and ruthless incursions<sup>7</sup> into Persia in the thirteenth century, compelled many a learned Persian to seek an Asylum in India. These emigrants and refugees made India their permanent home and formed the nucleus of Indo-Persian culture and scholarship. They brought with them a heritage of a highly gifted race and planted it on the fertile soil of India. That is why India could produce eminent poets, historians, divines and mystics, who if not superior, are at least equal to any of the famous poets or historians of contemporary Persia.

#### INDO-PERSIAN POETS OF THE GHAZNAVI PERIOD.

We find under the Ghaznavides a host of Persian Poets and other men of letters. But as the main centre of their activities lies not in India but in Ghazni, I am not going to deal with them except those few who are connected with India either by birth or adoption.



*Rúni*  
ABU'FARAJ-B-MASUD-KRISAI.

Of the poets of this time we may mention the name of one Abu'Faraġ-Bin-Masūd-<sup>*Rúni*</sup>~~Krisai~~ a panegyrist of Sultan Ibráġim and Sultan Masūd, who is described by some historians as an Indian poet born at Lahore in a village called Runá, <sup>(1)</sup> Badá'ísai <sup>(2)</sup> says "Usáid Abu'Faraġ-Rúni was a panegyrist of Sultan Ibráġim and also of Sultan Masūd. Many ġasídas written in their honour are to be found in his Dívān; Rún is the name of a village of the dependency of Lahore and in these days it is in ruins; no trace of it is to be found." Both the Lubáb and the

(1)

Reigned from 492-509 A.H. = A.D. 1099-1115. T.N., p.22

(2) Vol.1 p.37. According to the Majma' (vol.1 p.70) "He was a poet of great reputation and Anwári used to imitate his style. The name <sup>*Rúni*</sup>~~Krisai~~ (كریسی) is derived from a village (كریسی) Runa of Nishápur. He lived for sometime at Lahore so he is called by some as Lahori. His Dívān consists of 2,000 couplets." But the Lubáb (p.241.vol.11) says that he was born at Lahore. This being the earliest authority is more reliable.



Majma'ul-Fusāḥa speak very highly of him and quote a large number of his best verses.

MAS'UD-I-SAD-I-SALMAN.

Another notable poet of this period is Mas'ud-i-sad-i-Salman. He belongs to a family of Hamadan who emigrated to India and settled at Lahore. <sup>(1)</sup> The poet was born and brought up at Lahore and he served at the Court of five Kings of Ghazni, namely Ibrahim, Mas'ud III, <sup>(3)</sup> Shirzad, Arslan and Bahrām-shah, whose reigns extended from A.H. 451 to 547 (A.D. 1059-1152). Most of his <sup>panegyrics</sup> ~~panegyrics~~ were written in honour of Saif-ad-Dawla-Abul-Qasim-Mahmud-Bin-Ibrahim, who was appointed Governor of India in A.H. <sup>(2)</sup> 469 (A.D. 1076-77). In the year 480 A.H. (A.D. 1087-88) he was accused of being an associate of a party of conspirators against the throne of Ghazni and consequently he had to undergo a long term of imprisonment in the castle of

(1) R.S. Add. 16,729, p. 207<sup>c</sup>.

(2) Qasida appended to the note of Chahar-Maqala G.M.S.

(3) p. 145. The Lubāb cites one Qasida written in honour of Saif-ad-Dawla where the poet ingeniously avoids the <sup>ai</sup> ~~note~~ of the letters *ay*, *if* (Ba Mim) [Vol. 11, p. 279].



(1)  
 Nay. With the hope of being released he sent a quatrain to the King from his prison, but it was of no avail. After an imprisonment of ten years he obtained his freedom through the intercession of a Courtier named Abul Qāsim, and he  
 (2)  
 returned to India.

When Sultan Ibrāhīm died, Sultan Masūd III appointed his son Shīrẓād as the viceroy of India and Abū-Naṣr Hibat-Ullāh of parā as Commander-in-Chief and Adviser. The latter being an old friend of the poet,  
 (3)  
 appointed him Governor of Jalāndar, a dependency of Lahore. But after sometime the poet's patron fell into disfavour and all his subordinates had to suffer the consequences. Sa'd Salīmān was again accused of high treason and sentenced to imprisonment. This time he had to remain in confinement for a period of eight or nine years in the Citadel of Maranj, after which he was released through the inter-  
 (4)  
 cession of Siqat ul-Mulk Tāhīr-ibn-'Alī-ibn-MashKān

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(1) Castle situated somewhere in Waziristan.

(2) C.M.G.M.S. p. 146.

(3) Ibid.

(4) M.F., Vol. I, p. 515, and C.M.G.M.S. p. 147.



the Prime Minister of the King. After this incident he was so much broken in health that he gave up all his public activities and went into retirement to lead the life of a devotee.

This man is acknowledged by all the prominent biographers to be one of the most erudite geniuses India has ever produced. He was well versed not only in Persian but also in Arabic and Hindī. He has left to us three Divāns consisting of 17,000 Couplets in Arabic, Persian and Hindī. He is said to be the first person to compose three Divāns before the year 525 A.H. (A.D.1130-31).

This fact has also been corroborated by Amīr Khusrāw in the following words: "Before this none of the Kings in the realm of poetry has ever left three Divāns but <sup>one</sup> (Khusrāw). Although my predecessor Masūd-i-Sad-i-Salman has left three Divāns, they were written in three different languages - Arabic, Persian and Hindī. None has so far compiled three separate Divāns in Persian alone except me, the unique figure in this respect."

(1) M.F.vol.11,p.411.

(1) M.F.vol.1.p.515

(2) G.K. add.21,104 f.175



HAMÍD U'D-DÍN MASÚD.

A third notable poet of this period is Hamíd-u'd-dín-Masúd-ibn-Sa' Shálíkáb. He was born of noble family of Lahore ~~and~~ his verses are said to have attained the style and elegance of Rúdagí and 'Unsurí. <sup>(1)</sup> The accounts of his life and works given by the biographers are so meagre that ~~all~~ <sup>we</sup> are not in a position to make a fair estimate of him. One of his Qitm's is quoted in the Lubáb as a specimen of his poetry.

DEARTH OF INDO-PERSIAN LITERATURE FOR A

PERIOD OF ABOUT ONE HUNDRED YEARS.

There is a blank page in the early history of Indo-Persian literature which covers a period of about one hundred years, from the <sup>time of the</sup> decline of the House of Ghazna up to the consolidation of the power by Qutb-u'd-dín-Aibak. <sup>(2)</sup> It was due more to the political unrest of the time, than to the want of literary talent, that no notable work was produced during this period.

(1) Lubáb vol. 11, p. 411.

(2) From the time of Masúd-i-Sa' i-Salman who died in A.H.

515 (A.D. 1121-2) we do not find any Indo-Persian Scholar of note till the assumption of the power by Qutb-u'd-Din in A.H. 602 (A.D. 1205).



to any other cause, when the rulers of the Country had to pay greater attention to the safety of their dominions than to the development of art and literature. It was a period of disorder within, coupled with attacks from without, when the power of the Ghaznawides was on its wane and new dynasties were appearing.

#### THE RISE OF THE HOUSE OF GHŪR.

The death of Mahmūd in A.H.421 (A.D.1030) was followed by a series of civil wars and fratricidal fūds, which had weakened the central authority, and the growing power of the Seljuks in Eastern Persia became a formidable menace to the integrity of the Empire. When the mighty Empire built by Mahmūd was gradually crumbling in the hands of his successors, there appeared a new dynasty of Eastern Persian race known as the House of Ghūr. In the year A.H. (1) 569 (A.D.1173) Sultan Ghixāg-u'd-dīn-Muhammad, son of Baha-u'd-dīn Sām drove out the Ghuzz Turks from Ghazni and appointed his brother Shihāb-u'd-dīn Ghūr as the Governor of that province. A short time after this Shihāb-u'd-dīn (2) led several expeditions against India and in the year A.H.

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(1) Badāʾiʿ vol.1 p.46; and T.N.p.115

(2) The first invasion led by him was in 571 A.H.=A.D.

1175 (vide T.N. p.116)



583 (A.D. 1187) during the reign of Khusrav Malik-Bin-Khusrawshah at Lahore, he gave the final blow to the pioneer of the Ghaznavides and wrested their Indian possession from them. (1) After that "the plain of the Empire once for all passed to the dynasty of Ghur without the thorn of a partner or rival." (2) But the house of Ghur could not survive long. In A.H. 593 (A.D. 1203) Ghizas-ud-Din Muhammad died and his younger brother, who for a long time carried on his Indian Campaigns in the name of his brother, ascended the throne with the title of Muizz-ud-Din Muhammad Bin Sam Ghuri. He reigned for three years and then was assassinated on his way to Chaznin from India. (3)

#### POLITICAL STATE OF INDIA AFTER THE DEATH OF MUZZ-UD-DIN.

The death of Sultan Muizz-ud-Din Muhammad Ghuri opens a new chapter in the history of Muslim India. Qutb-ud-Din-Aibak, the viceroy of Ghuride India, (3)

(1) T.N., p. 26 Sultan and was threatening Lahore. Ilkhan

(2) Badakh vol. 1. p. 48 A.D. 614 (A.D. 1217). But

(3) T.N., p. 124

1. T.N., p. 24. 2. T.N.F., 140.

3. Ibid., p. 170. 4. Ibid.



assumed independence and he was acknowledged as a sovereign by Ikhtiyār u'd-Dīn, the governor of Bengal and Násir u'd-Dīn Qabacha of Multán. He was a very able administrator and rose to eminence from the position of a slave. It was during his vice-royalty, in A.H. 588 (A.D. 1192), Delhi was wrested from the power of the Rájputs, after which it became the metropolis of the Sultans of India. (1) Qutb u'd-Dīn did not live long after his accession to the throne. He died in A.H. 607 (A.D. 1210) (2) after a fall from horseback while playing polo.

#### DEATH OF QUTB U'D-DÍN AND RISE OF THE HOUSE OF

ILTUTMISH. After the death of Aibak the nobles of the court raised his son Arám-Sháh to the throne, but he was so feeble that he proved a disastrous failure. Some of the nobles who were not in favour of his election, invited Shams-u'd-Dīn Iltutmish, a slave and son-in-law of Aibak, to take the throne. Iltutmish marched from Badáún to Delhi, defeated Arám-Sháh, and obtained the throne in A.H. 607 (A.D. 1211). (3) During this period of disorder, Qabacha assumed independence at Multán and was threatening Lahore. Iltutmish (4) drove him out of Lahore in A.H. 614 (A.D. 1217). But

1. T.F.M., p. 22.

2. T.N.P., 140.

3. Ibid, p. 170.

4. Ibid.



Qabacha did not cease his hostilities against Iltutmish.

So in A.H. 625 (A.D. 1227-28) the Sultan gave him the coup-de-grace and seized Multán and Ouch from him. Qabacha  
(1)  
in his flight was drowned in the Indus. Within a few years Iltutmish brought the whole of the Kingdom of Aibak under his rule and then extended his dominion by adding to it Máwla and Sind. He died in A.H. 633 (A.D. 1236) after a  
(2)  
reign of twenty six years.

The death of Iltutmish was followed by a series of internal disorders, from A.H. 634-644 (A.D. 1236-46), when the  
(3)  
Maliks known as the group of the Forty held the key to the government. Several princes and one princess were raised to the throne and deposed in quick succession by these powerful Maliks until the accession of Sultan Náṣir u'd-Dín in A.H. 644 (A.D. 1246) who proved to be the ablest and most tactful of all the successors of Iltutmish. He, with the aid of his most powerful lieutenant, Balban, brought peace and prosperity and formed a stable government at Delhi. He died in A.H. 644 (A.D.  
(4)  
664 (A.D. 1255) reigning for a period of twenty years and a few months. After him the house of Iltutmish came to an end, and Balban, one of the most powerful of the Forty, ascended the

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1. T.N., p. 173.

2. Ibid, p. 176.

3. The leading Turkish nobles who formed themselves into a group of Forty known as the "Chihil-gání" who divided all the fiefs of the empire and all the highest offices amongst themselves. Originally they were Turkish slaves purchased by Iltutmish. (Vide Baraní, p. 26).

2. Badáúní, Vol. I, p. 94.



throne and thus founded a new dynasty of his own. After this time we find a more stable and growing Muslim power in India.

TWO CENTRES OF INDO-PERSIAN CULTURE DURING THIS PERIOD. Having given a short general sketch of the political state of India at this time, we now pass to the consideration of a few of the most important writers and poets of the period who flourished under the patronage of different kings. During this period we find two centres of Indo-persian culture, one at the court of Delhi and the other at Multán, the capital of Sultan Náṣiru'd-Dín Qabacha, where many a persian scholar came as a refugee at the Mongol invasion. (1)

MEN OF LETTER. Among the men of letters of this period were (1) historians and biographers, and (ii) poets. It is proposed to speak first of the historians and biographers.

MUHAMMAD 'AUFÍ. Muhammad 'Awfí, one of the earliest biographers of persian poets, came to the court of Qabacha and he lived there under the patronage of the Sultan and his minister 'Aynu'l-Mulk, until Qabacha suffered defeat at the hands of Sultan Shamsu'd-Dín Iltutmish. After the death of his patron he had passed himself over to the service of Iltutmish. One of his most important works is the Lubáb u'l-Albáb (the marrow of understanding) a biography of persian poets from the earliest times to his own day. It was completed at the court of Qabacha and dedicated to his minister 'Aynu'l-Mulk Husayn-al-Asharí. Another work of his, entitled "Jawámi'u'l-Hikáyát"-wa-Lawámi'u'r-



(1)

Riwayát, which consists of an immense collection of anecdotes, was written while he was in the services of Sultan Shamsu'd-Din and it was dedicated to Nizám u'l-Mulk Muhammad ibn-i-Abí Sa'd-al-Junaydí the minister of the king.

FAKHR U'D-DÍN-MUBÁRAK-SHÁH. One of the historians

of this period who deserves special mention is Fakhr u'd-Dín Muhammad-ibn-Manşúr al-Marvar-rúdí-as-Siddiqí-Mubáarak-Sháh, commonly known as Fakhr-Mudír. He was a contemporary of Sultan Ghiyás u'd-Dín, Muízzu'd-Dín, and Qutbu'd Dín Aibak, in whose courts he was a recipient of high favours. He is the author of a book known as "Shajara" or Shajara-i-Ansáb, (2) containing genealogies of the prophet, of famous people of the world from Adam to Seth, and of sixty eight others ending with the Mulúk-i-Jibál or Ghuríds. Besides those genealogies, it contains an introduction and a Díbácha devoted mainly to a history of the beneficent rule of Muízzu'd-Dín and Qutbu'd-Dín Aibak. The account the author gives of these two sovereigns supplies us with accurate and first-hand information of some of the important events of their reigns which have been the subject of much discussion among the historians. This book has been used

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1. The text of the Lubáb with an introduction by Prof. Brown has been published and an index to the Jawámi u'l-Hikáyat with an introduction has recently been published by Dr. Nizám-u'd-Dín-Ahmed. For details of the author's life may be referred to these volumes.
  2. T.F.M., P.62. This history was not known to us till it was recently discovered by Sir Denison Ross and a portion of it has been published by him under the title of "Tárikh-i-Fakhr-u'd-Dín Mubáarak-Sháh. For detailed account and its importance as a trustworthy history see his article in the 'Ajab Námah, pp. 392-413.



Although we do not find such material elsewhere (1) by Firishta as one of his sources and Júzján also makes mention of it in several places. The author intended to present this book in A.H. 602 (A.D. 1206) to Mu'izz u'd-Dín, but before he could carry out his intention the Sultan was murdered and consequently he dedicated it to Qutbu'd-Dín Aibak at Lahor. Qutb u'd Dín was highly pleased and ordered a special copy to be prepared for the royal library. (2)

Another book entitled "Ādāb-ul-Mulúk wa Kifāyat-u'l-Mamlúk" was written by this author, dealing chiefly with the art of war, with a number of introductory chapters on the proper attributes of a king and his duty to select fit officers of state. It was composed about A.H. 607 (A.D. 1210) and dedicated to Iltutmish, the reigning monarch. There are only two copies of this work extant, one is in the India Office Library (3) and the other in the British Museum. The latter copy is styled "Ādāb-u'l-Harb wa'sh-Shujá'a." (4)

HASAN NAZAMÍ. Another important historian of this time is Hasan Nazamí, the author of the Táju'l-Ma'āsir (crown of memorable deeds), which deals mainly with the history of Qutb u'd-Dín and a portion of the history of his predecessor Muhammad Ghurí and of his successor Iltutmish. This book deals with one of the most interesting periods of Indian history, the first permanent settlement of the Muslim power in India.

1. T.N., pp. 28-29.

2. T.F.M., pp. 71-75.

3. I.O.L., No. 2767.

4. Add. 16,853.



Although we do not find much material about the life of the author, from biographical references, we understand from the preface to the *Tāj-u'l-Ma'āṣir* that he was a native of Khērāsān and owing to the troubled condition of his own country he had to leave his home and seek an asylum elsewhere. He came to Delhi via Ghaznīn during the reign of Sultan Muḥḥzz u'd-Dīn-~~Muḥḥzz u'd-dīn~~ Muhammad-bin-Sām. When he arrived at Delhi he paid his respects to the chief judge Sharaf-u'l-Mulk, who received him kindly. After some time, he says, at the request of some of his friends, he undertook to write a history of his own time. The history was commenced in the year 602 A.H. (A.D. 1205) and it was dedicated to Sultan Qutb-u'd-Dīn Aibak. (1)

MINHÁJ-SIRÁJ. Another notable historian of this period is Minháj-i-Siráj of Jūzjān, near Balkh, the author of the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*. His full name is Abū-'Umar-Minháj-u'd-Dīn, 'Uṣmān ibn-Sirāja'd-Dīn-al-Jūzjānī. His father and grandfather were in the service of the House of Ghūr and occupied positions of high distinction. In the year 624 A.H. (A.D. 1227) he came from Ghūr to India and attached himself to the court (2)

of Sultan Nāṣir-u'd-Dīn Qabacha at Multān. The Sultan, finding him to be a man of profound scholarship, appointed him principal

1. T.M. Add. 7624 f. 20.

2. T.N. P., 144. Minháj calls him a poet of Lahore whose original home was at Khērāsān. (Add. 16, 746, f. 80v.)

3. T.N., f. 191. 4. Ibid., pp. 202-203.

5. Parichya Vol. I, p. 123. This battle was fought in the month of Shawwāl A.H. 643, when a large number of Mongol captives were brought from Multān to Delhi and the capital was decorated for this success. (Vide *Ṭabaqāt*, p. 218.)



(1)  
of the Fīrūzī College at Uch. After the defeat and death  
of Qabacha he transferred his services to the court of Sultan  
(2)  
Iltutmish, to whose son Sultan Nāṣiru'd-Dīn he dedicated his  
history Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī. This book is one of the most trust-  
worthy histories of the early Muslim rule in India, and we  
find that most of the historians of the Mughal period use it  
as one of their main sources.

(3)  
This writer, besides being a historian, was also a  
poet. We find several pieces of his Qaṣīdas and Qitʿas written  
in honour of his patrons. The author has incorporated in  
his Ṭabaqāt one Qaṣīda (4) written in honour of Sultan Muʿizzu'd-Dīn -  
Bahram Shāh, son of Iltutmish, congratulating him on the occasion  
of his accession to the throne, and two others written in  
(5)  
honour of Sultan Nāṣir-u'd-Dīn Maḥmūd.

One more Qaṣīda is quoted by Fīrīshta as written by  
Minhāj on the occasion of a convivial party held by Nāṣir u'd-  
(6)  
Dīn in celebration of his victory over the Mongal hordes.

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1. T.N., p. 144. Ibid. He was also a very eloquent preacher. Nizām-u'd-Dīn Awliya states that one day he was so much impressed and affected by a sermon delivered by Minhāj that he almost fainted. (Vide F.F. or. 1806, f. 128).
  2. T.N., P. 173.
  3. The Rīṣṣa-u's-Shuharā calls him a poet of Lahore whose original home was at Khārāsān. (Add. 16,729, p. 207).
  4. T.N., P. 191.
  5. Ibid, pp. 202-205.
  6. Firishta Vol. I, p. 128. This battle was fought in the month of Shawwāl A.H. 648, when a large number of Mongal captives were brought from Multān to Delhi and the capital was decorated for this success. (Vide Ṭabaqāt, p. 215.)







POETS OF THIS PERIOD AT MULTÁN. We now come to the poets of this period, and will speak first of those who flourished at Multán and then of those at Delhi. The author of the Lubáb gives us an account of the contemporary poets attached to the court of Qabacha at Multán. He says "This court is thronged with wise and learned men, it is a heaven studded with brilliant stars, the possessors of excellence and virtue; it is a garden permeated with the fragrance of the flowers of wisdom and blossoms of knowledge."<sup>(1)</sup> But unfortunately he has left an account of only three of these poets who were friendly with him, he has omitted the memoirs of the rest. Of these three again the name of the first is not to be found in our present text. It is probably due to the fault of the scribe who left so many lacunas that it does not allow us to obtain an accurate knowledge of the poets. He has cited a Qasída written by the first poet as a specimen of his style. This Qasída was written in praise of the minister "Ayn u'l-Mulk in the form of Sawál-va-Javáb (questions and answers). It consists of thirty-three couplets.<sup>(2)</sup>

MUHAMMAD-AL-KÁTIB-AL-BALKHÍ. The second poet of note is Muhammad-al-Kátib-al-Balkhí. This man besides being a poet, was a wonderful Calligraphist. The Lubáb says that

1. Lubáb, Vol. II, p. 418.
2. <sup>ibid</sup> Lubáb, Vol. II, pp. 419-20.



his Calligraphy has surpassed even the skill of Ibn-i-Bawwáb<sup>(1)</sup> and Ibn-i-Muqlá. He was a poet of the court as well as a

panegyrist of the Šāhib Qirán, the minister of the Sultan.

A Qasída written in praise of the minister is quoted here but a few verses in the beginning and in the middle of the poem are imperfect.

ZIÁ-UD-DÍN-SANJARÍ. The third poet mentioned in this memoir is Zíá u'd-Dín Sanjarí. He is also said to have been one of the best scholars of the age and a poet of renown. One of his Qasídas has been quoted by "Awfí" as a specimen of his poems. But there are so many imperfections in this poem that no definite personal reference can be gleaned from it.

It seems, however, from a few verses at the end of the Qasida that it was written in honour of the same vizier 'Ayn u'l-Mulk,<sup>(2)</sup>

the patron of the author.

Delhi after the return of Sultan Shams u'd-Din from Lakhnau

in these words:— "It is well known that a poet named Bayrú

came from Delhi to the Holiness Shuja Sháh u'd-Din 'Alí

(May God sanctify his secrets) and said 'I have written a

Qasida in honour of Sultan Shams u'd-Din. Please recite a

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*Lubáb, vol. II.*  
1. *Ibid*, pp. 420-21. Ibn-i-Muqlá and Ibn-i-Bawwáb are two of the most celebrated Arab calligraphers. The former is said to have been the first person to introduce the Kúfic characters of writing in Arabia and the latter has improved upon it. Bawwáb is also the founder of a school of calligraphy at Baghdád. He died about A.H.423 (A.D.1032). (vide de Slane's *Ibn-i-Khallikán* Vol. II, p.282. *Ency.Br.* p.368.)

2. *Lubáb*, Vol. II, pp.426-28.



made and he went to the court of the Sultan and recited the following POINTS OF DELHI. Besides the poets and learned men mentioned by 'Awfí' in his Lubáb, as his contemporaries, we find a number of poets flourishing in the court of Delhi under the patronage of different sovereigns of this period. The names of the following poets of this period are mentioned by Indo-persian historians as men of high intellectual calibre: Násirí, Amír Rúhání, Shiháb Mahamara-i-Badáuíní, and 'Amíd Lumakí; but the account left by the historians of their life and work is so very meagre that it does not permit us to make a fair estimate of their merit, and the total disappearance of their writings, has made our task still more difficult and embarrassing. We shall, however, with the aid of the poor materials that we have at our disposal, try to throw some light upon them.

NÁSIRÍ.<sup>(1)</sup> Badáuíní tells about Násirí's coming to Delhi after the return of Sultan Shamsu'd-Dín from Lakhnawtí in these words:- "It is well known that a poet named Násirí<sup>(2)</sup> came from Delhi to His Holiness Khwája Qatb u'd-Dín Úshí (May God sanctify his secrets) and said 'I have written a Qasída in honour of Sultan Shams u'd-Dín. Please recite a prayer so that I may get the usual reward.' The prayer was

1. Badáuíní, Vol. I, P. 65; and F.F. or 1806, f.109.

2. He was one of the most influential saints of the time. This Sultan as well as Qabacha had great respect for him. Some of the victories of Qabacha over the Mongol hordes, is ascribed to the supernatural power of the Shaikh. (Vide Fuáid-ul Fuád. f. 55a, B.M. or 1806.)



made and he went to the court of the Sultan and recited the following opening verses of the Qasída:

لَمَّا كُنْتُ مِنْ زُهَيْبٍ تَوَزَّيْتُ نَهَارَ خَوَاسِتِهِ  
تَبَيُّغَ تَوَمَّالٍ وَفَيْلٍ زُكْفَارٍ خَوَاسِتِهِ

"O thou, from dread of thee sedition has sought refuge,  
Thy sword has exacted from the infidels wealth and elephants."

The Sultan was so pleased with these verses that he immediately got them by heart and when the recitation of the poem was finished he ordered his officers to reward the poet with fifty three thousand silver 'tankas' for fifty three verses (2) which he wrote in his honour.

AMIR RÚHÁNÍ. Amir Rúhání was one of the most learned men at the court of Sultan Shamsu'd-Dín. During the invasion of Persia by the Hordes of Chingíz Khán he migrated from Bukhára to India and took refuge at the court of Delhi.

Badaúní says that he had written several brilliant Qasídas in this period in praise of Sultan Shamsu'd-Dín. Badaúni says: "of congratulating the King on his conquest of the fort of Rohtanbúr, the group of persons who attended the drum of poetry and Mandú and the Sivalik hills. Some of these poems are given by him as specimens of his composition."

SHIHÁB U'D DÍN. The next poet who deserves our attention is Shiháb u'd-Dín Jamábu'd-Dín Mutmara, who lived at the court of Sultan Rukn u'd-Dín Fírúz-Sháh (A.H. 633-34.)

1. Badaúní, Vol. I, p. 65. 2. Ibid. which in his campaign to

3. Badaúní (Vol. I, p. 70) calls him Shiháb Muhmara-Badaúní, according to him this poet was a resident of Badaún and he calls him a fellow citizen, and Khugrap calls him Shihábu'd-dín Madaráni and says that he was a resident of Madarán, a town of Hindustán.



He is considered as one of the best poets of the period. 'Amíd Lúmakí, a poet of the court of Sultan Násir u'd-Dín Maḥmúd, calls him his master and Amír Khusraw is said to have referred to him in the following verses:-(1)

در مداران ست بر خیزد شهاب مشرق  
شنود گر نغمه مرغان دهل زین نوا

"Madaran Shihab-i-Mutmara would rise intoxicated, if he would hear the sweet lays of the birds of Delhi."

Several of his interesting Qaṣídas are quoted by Badáúní and the Majma' u'l-Fuṣahá as examples of his poetry. But none of these authorities tell us whether he has left any Díván although they speak very highly of his scholarship and poetic genius. The Majma' quotes two of his Qaṣídas in which he has entirely avoided the use of the letter Alif.

SHAMS U'D-DÍN DABÍR. The next poet of importance in this period is Shams u'd-Dín Dabír. Badáúní says:- "of the group of persons who sounded the drum of poetry and attained the rank of the possessor of the highest degree of knowledge during Násir u'd-Dín's reign, one was Shams u'd-Dín Dabír, whose manifest excellences and perfections are beyond (2) description." But none of his works except some Qaṣídas quoted by Badáúní has survived to us. He was also the secretary of Bughra Khán, <sup>and</sup> ~~who~~ accompanied the prince in his campaign to Lakhnawtí. Nizām u'd-Dín Awliyá highly speaks of his ability

1. M.F., Vol.I, p. 304.

2. Badáúní, Vol.I, p. 94.



and scholarship. He was a friend of Hasan and a disciple  
 of Shaykh Faḥd Ganj.<sup>(1)</sup>

"AMÍD LUMAKÍ". Another poet of this period was  
 Amír Fakhr u'd-Dín "Amíd Lumakí".<sup>(2)</sup> He was the Mustawfi-u'l-  
 Mamalik of Hindustan during the reign of Násir u'd-Dín Maḥmúd.<sup>(3)</sup>  
 Besides his public duties he produced a number of excellent  
 poems. But his works are not now in existence. Badaúní  
 gives some of his poems and says "As his verses are becoming  
 very rare, it is necessary to reproduce some of them."<sup>(3)</sup>

He quotes three Qaṣídas written in praise of God and the  
 prophet, and six others in praise of Sultan Násir u'd-Dín  
 Maḥmúd with the Radíf (1) نافع, (2) بند, (3) کشتی, (4) آهو, (5) روزه,  
 (6) کرم. that he was born of a noble family of Delhi.  
 The members of this family, it seems, were immigrants to  
 India from Sistan as the appellation Sistani added to his  
 father's name indicates. It is also not known why his  
 father was called Sanjari. It is probable either that  
 "Amíd u'd-Dín himself", was connected in some way to the district  
 of Sanjar, or that it was the place of his ancestral home  
 from which he traces his pedigree.

1. F.F. or 1806, f.69a.

2. He is sometimes known as "Amíd Dailamí". He is said to  
 have been a native of Samnám and a panegyist of Sultan  
 Muḥammad Yamín before he migrated to India. (Vide M.F.  
 Vol. I, p.353.)

3. Badaúní Vol.I, pp. 99-127.



## CHAPTER I

### THE LIFE OF HASAN

NAME AND PARENTAGE. One of the most important Indo-Persian poets of the late seventh <sup>and</sup> early eighth centuries of the Hijra, whose works are read and admired even beyond the boundaries of India, is Amír Hasan Dihlaví. His full name is Amír Najm u'd-Dín Hasan Dihlaví - the son of Khwāja 'Alá'- u'd-Dín Sistání, often known as 'Alá'-i-Sanjari<sup>(1)</sup>. The poet has adopted Hasan as his "Takhallus" or poetical name. As he was born and brought up at Dihli (Delhi) he is known as Hasan Dihlaví. We know very little about his parentage except the fact mentioned by some biographers that he was born of a noble family of Delhi.<sup>(2)</sup> The members of this family, it seems, were immigrants to India from Sistán as the appellation Sistání added to his father's name indicates. It is also not known why his father was called Sanjarí. It is probable either that 'Alá' u'd-Dín himself, was connected in some way to the district of Sanjar<sup>(3)</sup> or that it was the place of his ancestral home from which he traces his pedigree.

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1. Baraní, p.359; C.P.B. Vol.I, p.196.
  2. K.A. Add.18542, f.65a; D.T.S., p.247.
  3. Sanjar is the name of a city near Mosul in the province of The Jazíra otherwise known as Diyár Rabí'ah (Vide Nuzhat-u'l-Qúlub of Hamd-Alláh-Mustawfí, G.M.S., p.105.)



THE TITLE OF AMÍR

The title of Amír has been borne by two of the Indo-Persian poets, Hasan and his contemporary Khusraw. With regard to Khusraw we have historical evidence which says that the rank of Amír was conferred upon him by Sultan Jalál u'd-Dín Fírúz-Sháh Khaljí.<sup>(1)</sup> But there is no such testimony either external or internal to show that Hasan was ever raised to such a position by any of the ruling princes or kings. Most of the historians and biographers say that he was a 'Nadím' or a courtier at the court of several kings and princes but none of them says if he was ever made an Amír. The biographers further do not all use the title of Amír before his name. Some use the word<sup>(2)</sup> Khvāja, some Shaykh and Mír, and a small number Amír. But in the case of Khusraw, almost all the biographers regularly call him Amír. From this difference of treatment made by the biographers in the use of this appellation, and the absence of other evidence, we can reasonably say that the title of Amír was not officially conferred upon him. It was probably accorded to him by the people as a mark of respect generally shown towards the sons of the nobles and the sayyids.

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1. Firishta Vol.I, p.156.

2. Badaúní Vol.I, p.201. The Majma' calls him a Shaykh, probably in the sense of a pious man, not as a class as understood in India.



Hasan belonged to a family of sayyid, as we know from one of his odes where he addresses himself as sayyid (1) Hasan. It is a custom in India to address the son of a sayyid as "Mír Šáhib" which is an abbreviation of Amír Šáhib. Therefore it is apparent that his designation of Amír was a mere dignity or a title of rank usually applied to the descendants of the prophet.

THE DATE OF HIS BIRTH. Although the biographers are quite silent about the date of the birth of our poet, we have internal evidence at our disposal from which we can conclusively deduce the year in which he was born. In the preface to his Díván he says that he had completed (2) its compilation when he was sixty three years of age. But the date of the compilation, which is to be found only in the two existing prefaces attached to the copies of his Díván at the India office and the Bankipore libraries, has been variously given. According to the India office copy it was completed on Sunday the twentieth of Zí'l-Qa'da A.H. (3) 715 (A.D.1315), and the Bankipore copy gives the date as (4) Sunday, Rabí' I., A.H. 714 (A.D.1314). Of these two dates the Bankipore date seems to be the more reliable. The poet

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1. D.H.I.O.L., f.108 (b).

2. Ibid, f.1a. ~~Bankip.pr. 132.~~

3. Ibid, f.2b.

4. C.P.B., p.197.



says that this collection was completed during the reign of 'Alá'u'd-Dín Khaljī who was of the same age as himself. <sup>(1)</sup>

'Alá'u'd-Dín died on the eight of Shawwāl A.H. 715 (A.D. 1315). <sup>(2)</sup>

The date assigned to the compilation of the Dívān in the India office library copy would show that it was completed one month after the death of 'Alá'u'd-Dín, whereas the poet says that it was already complete during the Sultan's lifetime. Consequently we can accept the Bankipore date as authentic, and thus place the date of the poet's birth in the year A.H. 651 (A.D. 1253), during the reign of Sultan Násir u'd-Dín Mahmūd.

THE PLACE OF HIS DEATH. All the biographers except Taqī Káshī agree that the poet died at Deogír or Dawlatábád. But Taqī Káshī says that he died at Delhi, twenty years after the death of Amír Khusraw and that he is buried at the foot of the tomb of his spiritual guide <sup>(3)</sup> Nizám u'd-Dín Awliyá. But no other writer corroborates his statement. If his tomb had been at Delhi, it would immediately have attracted popular reverence and have become a place of pilgrimage as is the case with the tombs of

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1. D.H. I.O.L., f.1.

2. B.N., Add. 21, 104, f.383.-

3. K.A.Z.A., I.O.L. No. 667, f.541a.

تاریخ مردود شاه ز شوال دو چهار  
تاریخ عام پانزده هفتصد و شصت و شش



Shaykh Nizām u'd-Dīn Awliyā and Amīr Khusraw. Badā'ūnī on the other hand definitely says that he died at Dawlatābād (1) "where his tomb is well known and is visited as a sacred shrine."

The statement of Badā'ūnī has been corroborated by the Mir'āt-u'l-Abrār, a biography of saints written in the eleventh century A.H., which says :  
(2)

"He was buried at Deogīr or Dawlatābād, near (3) the sepulchre of Shaykh Burhān u'd-Dīn Gharīb. His tomb is a place of pilgrimage to the people of that country, who call him Hasan Shīr or Hasan the lion, because no one can stay near his tomb at night. If any one, through ignorance and foolishness, stays for a night at his grave, he sees the vision of a lion and falls into a swoon." We can therefore take the statement of Badā'ūnī as correct and accept Dawlatābād as the place of his death and burial.

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1. Badā'ūnī, Vol. I. p. 201.

2. M.A., or 1756. f.144.

3. Shaykh Burhān u'd-Dīn Gharīb was one of the devoted disciples of Shaykh Nizām u'd-Dīn. He was deputed by his spiritual guide to preach Islam at Burhān-pur and Dawlatābād. (S.A. or 224, f.91.)



THE DATE OF HIS DEATH. We have no conclusive

evidence as to the exact date of his death. The dates given by the biographers vary from A.H. 707 to A.H. 769, (A.D. 1307-67). I shall therefore, first of all, give the dates which have been assigned by different writers and then try to ascertain as closely as possible, what the correct date is. The following dates have been given by the undermentioned authorities :

(1) Mírza Bídíl gives the following chronogram :

حسن دهلوی معز دهر + نخم نیکی و نیکنی گشت  
بافت بانگر زرد ای سائل + سال تاریخ فوت اوست بهشت

"Hasan Dihlaví in the meadow of the world,

Sowed the seed of goodness and fame;

The invisible speaker cried aloud, 'O, enquirer!

The date of his death is (Bihisht) Paradise!"

The numerical value of the letters B.H.Sh.T. of the word Bihisht = 2 + 5 + 300 + 400 = 707 = A.D. 1307.

(2) Mir'át u'l -Khayál - A.H. 707 = A.D. 1307.

(3) Kalimát u'sh-shu'a rá - A.H. 707 = A.D. 1307.

1. Bayáz, add. 16,803, f.435.

2. or.231, f.35.

3. or 470, f.155. This MS. reads as 807 but I think it is the copyist's error who wrote eight instead of seven.



A.H. 735 (1) Khulāṣat u'l-Afkār - A.H. 738 = A.D. 1337  
 died some (2) Taqī-Kāshī - A.H. 745 = A.D. 1344  
 the biographer (3) Taḡkira-i-Ḥusaynī - A.H. 769 = A.D. 1367  
 (4) (5) Bada'ūnī and Firishta say that he died at  
 Dawlatābād in the year of the transfer of the capital by  
 Muḥammad Tughlaq from Delhi to Dawlatābād.  
 and place THE PROBABLE DATE. We cannot accept the year 707  
 as the date of his death. This was the year when he  
 commenced the writing of his prose book known as Fawā'id-u'l-  
 Fu'ād, in the completion of which he spent fifteen years  
 from A.H. 707-722. (6) This was the most fruitful and active  
 period of his life, during which he also compiled his Dīvān. (7)  
 We are therefore quite certain that he lived until A.H. 722  
 (A.D. 1322.) We have also evidence that he survived his  
 spiritual guide Nizām u'd-Dīn Awliyā and his contemporary  
 Amīr Khusraw, and he is said to have written a chronogram  
 giving the date of Khusraw's death. (8) Amīr Khusraw died in

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1. Add. 18,542, f.65.

2. I.O.L. No.667, f. 541.

3. or 229, f. 37. Firishta Vol.I, p.242.

4. Vol. I. p.201. p.241. Bada'ūnī calls him the Inspector-

5. Vol. I. p. 262. Forces.

6. or 1806, f.132.

7. D.H. I.O.L. No.1223 f.2b.

8. My.K. or 3537, f.141.



A.H. 725 (A.D. 1325.) It is therefore evident that Hasan died sometime after this year. The other dates given by the biographers are not corroborated either by direct or circumstantial evidence. Therefore, in the absence of any conclusive evidence, we can rely on the statement of Badauni and Firishta which seems to be the most probable and place the date of his death sometime after the transfer of the Indian capital from Delhi to Deogir or Dawlatábád.

THE DATE OF THE TRANSFERENCE OF THE CAPITAL FROM DELHI TO DAWLATÁBÁD AND THE PROBABLE DATE OF HASAN'S MIGRATION AND DEATH.

The transference of the capital from Delhi to Dawlatábád by Sultan Muhammad Tughlaq was actuated not by his peculiar whims or caprices as some historians believe, but by a sincere desire to make the centre of his dominion in a more central place, from which he could reign with greater ease and vigilance<sup>(1)</sup>. With this end in view he took this step after the rebellion of Garshásp the governor<sup>(2)</sup> of the principality of Ságar in the Deccan. This rebellion

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1. Baraní, p.473; Firishta Vol.I, p.242.

2. Firishta Vol.I p.241. Badaúní calls him the Inspector-General of the forces.

(C.H.I. Vol.III p.143.)



(1)  
 occurred in A.H. 727 (A.D. 1327), and this is the year when the Sultan decreed the transference of the capital. The royal decree had compelled the officers of the court and all those connected with the business of the state to move immediately to the new Capital; but the people were left to their own will, although encouragement was given and persuasion was attempted and various facilities were

(2)  
 provided for their voluntary transfer. But two years after this decree i.e. in A.H. 729 (A.D. 1328) when the Sultan was returning from his war against Tarmashírín, (3) the Mongol invader of India, he ordered the transference of the

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1. Badáúní, Vol.I, p.226; Firishta has not given the date of this rebellion and the transference of the capital from Delhi to Deogir. He gives in detail the causes of the transfer of the capital and narrates the whole history abruptly after his account of the Sultan's expedition to Himachal which was led in A.H. 738 (A.D. 1337-38.) This has led Briggs in his Mahommedan power in India to suppose A.H. 738 to be the date of the transfer of the capital from Delhi. But the text does not show any chronological relation of the one with the other. The Himáchal expedition was led eleven years after the transfer of the capital (vide. Badáúní, Vol.I, p.229.)

2. Badáúní, Vol.I. p.226.

3. Identified with the Chaghatai 'Alá'u'd-Dín-Tarmashírín who reigned in Trans-Oxiana from 1322-1330 or 34;

(C.H.I. Vol.III p.143.)



(1)  
entire population of Delhi to Dawlatábád. This second  
decree was issued more as a punitive than as an administrative  
measure. According to Ibn-Batúla, the Sultan took this  
vindictive step as a measure against some of the inhabitants  
of Delhi who wrote anonymous letters reproaching him for  
(2)  
the removal of the court. The indiscreet act of a few  
made the entire population of Delhi suffer the awful  
consequences of this monstrous decree. It was probably  
during this year that Hasan migrated to Dawlatábád. He  
would not have left Delhi, his birthplace and the shrine  
of his spiritual guide Nizam u'd-Dín Awliya unless he had  
been forced to do so; his death followed in the same year,  
probably hastened by his inability to withstand the climate  
of the Deccan at such an advanced age.

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1. Badáúní Vol.I, p.228; Firishta also mentions of this  
second decree; (Vol.I, p.243). Baraní gives no date of  
this important event.
  2. Ibn-Batúla, Vol.II, p.71.
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1. Badáúní Vol.I, p.228.  
2. Ibid II, 75a, 107a, 137b.



### HIS CHILDHOOD AND EARLY EDUCATION. Of the child-

hood and early education of our poet very little is known beyond the fact that he began to compose poetry from the age of thirteen, which we know from an incidental reference in his preface to the Díván.<sup>(1)</sup> Nothing has ever been said as to whether he was put to school for his education and training. He makes, of course, occasional references in his Díván, to his indebtedness to the great persian poets Saíf and Shaykh Abú-Saíd in whose footsteps he followed.<sup>(2)</sup> But there was no opportunity for him to meet either of them. It seems, therefore, he must have received a sound education at home, as was the custom among the noble families of those days; and with this to start with, he must have devoted himself to the study of the great minds, and thus developed the poetic genius which was innate in him.

### FIRST MEETING WITH AMÍR KHUSRAW AND NIZÁM U'D-DÍN

AWLIYÁ. We find Hasan in the prime of his youth working in a baker's shop, when Amír Khusraw his contemporary first met him. The amiable nature and elegant disposition which he displayed in a short conversation with Khusraw, led to the growth of their mutual admiration and friendship. It was on

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1. D.H.I.O.L., f.1.

2. Ibid ff.75a, 107a, 137b.



the same day that he was introduced to Shaykh  $\text{Nizám u'd-Dín}$  Awliya', the greatest saint of his time. The occasion of this meeting is described in the following way:-<sup>(1)</sup>

"One day Shaykh  $\text{Nizám u'd-Dín}$  Awliya' was passing through the market place with some of his companions, among whom was Amír Khusraw then in the prime of his youth. Khvāja Hasan, the poet, who was extremely handsome and a perfect master of excellence, was sitting at the counter of a baker's shop. When Amír Khusraw saw him he found him to be a person of elegant, graceful and attractive nature. He became enamoured of him and he went to the shop and asked him 'How do you sell your bread?' Hasan replied 'I put the bread on one scale of the balance and ask the customer to put his money on the other, when the money over-weighs, I allow the customer to go.' Amír Khusraw said 'If the customer has no money what would you do?' He replied 'I accept his grief and supplication in place of gold.' Amír Khusraw became astonished at this reply of Hasan. Then he reported the matter to the Shaykh. Khvāja Hasan, also being enamoured of him, left his business on that very day. Although he had not become a disciple of the Shaykh at that time, he began to frequent his monastery and busied himself in the acquisition

1. *Firishta* Vol. II, p. 754.

4. "The Keeper of the Royal Inkstand", a rank of high honour.

5. The Keeper of the Imperial Qur'an, a rank of high honour.



of knowledge." From this time, as the story goes, there developed a great friendship between Khusraw and Hasan.

HIS EARLIEST ASSOCIATION WITH ROYAL COURT. The exact date and occasion of his entry into the royal court is not known. The only reference we come across is in Favá'id ul-Fu'ád, (1) where he says that he accompanied Sultan Ghiyás u'd-Dín Balban in his campaign against Tnghrul the rebellious governor of Bengal at Lakhnawtí. This rebellion was made (2) in A.H.678 (A.D.1279), so it appears that he came into contact with the court sometime before this.

RETURNS FROM LAKHNAWTÍ AND JOINS THE COURT OF PRINCE MUHAMMAD. He did not stay long at Lakhnawtí. He returned to Delhi with the King, and in A.H.679 (A.D.1280) he was invited by prince Muhammad Sultan, the eldest son of Balban (3) to his court at Multán. This prince held Amír Hasan and his contemporary Khusraw in very high esteem and confided (4) upon them the offices of the Davát-Dár and Maş-haf-Dár, (5) respectively, and included them in the circle of his boon companions. Both these poets were in his service for a period

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1. Or.1806, f.69a. He says that in this campaign he passed all his days with Shams-i-Dabír, the Secretary of Bughra Khán, the governor of Bengal after Tughlák.
  2. Fihrista Vol.I, p.138. 3. Badáúní Vol.I, p.130.
  4. "The Keeper of the Royal Inkstand", a rank of high honour.
  5. The Keeper of the Imperial Qur'án, a rank of high honour.



of about five years till his death in A.H.684 (A.D.1285)<sup>(1)</sup>  
in a battle fought against the Mongol horde under the command  
of Aítimúkh Khán.

PRINCE MUHAMMAD'S LOVE OF LEARNING. Prince  
Muhammad, known as Qá'án Malik or Khán-i-Shahíd,<sup>(2)</sup> was a great  
patron of letters. The profuse generosity which he showed  
towards the men of learning and the encouragement which he  
gave to the advancement of knowledge made him very popular  
among his subjects and attracted men of letters to his court.  
In his zeal for fame he twice sent for Sa'dí of Shíráz to  
come to Multán. On both of these occasions he sent to the  
poet the expenses of the journey and promised to build a  
monastery for him and devote the revenue from several villages  
to its maintenance. But Sa'dí refused this offer, and  
excused his inability to comply with the request on account  
of his old age, and sent to the prince some Ghazals written  
in his own hand.<sup>(3)</sup> It is said that <sup>the</sup> prince himself prepared  
a "Bayáz" or anthology containing twenty thousand selected

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1. Baraní, p. 109, The Ḥabíbu's-Siyar is wrong in stating that they served the prince for a period of three years only. (Vide Add. 1225, f. 104).
  2. Qá'án Malik is the title given to him by Balban on the occasion of his appointment to the governorship of Multán. (Vide Baraní, p. 66). He is known as Khán-i-Shahíd or "the martyr prince" after his death in the battle fought against the Mongols.
  3. Baraní, p. 68. Dawlat-Sháh is wrong in stating that Sa'dí came to India to see Khusraw (T.D.S., p.239).



talents of these two poets. He held them in higher couplets from the works of the best persian poets, which exceed than any of his courtiers. He was so pleased has been highly praised by Hasan and Khushaw as an excellent specimen of judicious selection. After the death of the prince it was given by Balban to Amír 'Alí Jáma-dár, who in turn bequeathed it to Amír Khusraw. (1)

BARANÍ'S ACCOUNT OF THE COURT AND CHARACTER OF PRINCE MUHAMMAD. A very interesting account of the Court and character of Prince Muhammad, with special reference to his benevolent treatment of Amír Hasan and other men of letters has been given by Zih Baraní. He says:- (2)

"The court of Muhammad Sultan was full of men of talent and profound scholars. His "Nadíms" or boon companions used to recite the Díváns of Saná'í and Kháqání, and the merits of the poems of these writers were discussed before him by the wise men of his court. Amír Hasan and Amír Khusraw were in his service for a period of five years at Multán and used to receive gifts and allowances from him as courtiers. The wisdom which this prince possessed, had led him on various occasions to recognise the merits and

1. Firishta Vol. I, p. 137.

2. Baraní, pp. 66-7.



talents of these two poets. He held them in higher esteem than any of his courtiers. He was so pleased with their prose and verse that he made both of them his intimate associates, and he used to show greater favour and bestow more gifts and robes of honour on them than on any of his 'nadíms'. And I, the author of the <sup>Ta'rikh-i-</sup> Firúz-Sháhí have often heard about Khán-i-Shahíd, from Amír Khusraw and Amír Hasan, that a prince so polite and courteous was seldom to be found among the princes. If he was required to sit on the government-seat for the whole of the day and night, he would not deviate an inch from the formalities of decorum. We never saw him in a cross-legged position. We never heard him uttering any obscene or rude words either at drinking parties or in other assemblies. He drank so moderately that he would never get intoxicated or lose his senses..... " The same historian remarks in another place "that he had very often heard Amir Hasan and Khusraw saying "If we and other scholars had been fortunate enough, then Khán-i-Shahíd would have lived and sat on the throne of Balban. He would have drowned all the scholars and artists of the age in gold; but we artists have no luck and Fate does not look on us with the Eye of Justice." (1)

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1. Baraní, pp. 68-9.



DEATH OF PRINCE MUHAMMAD AND THE MAR<sup>s</sup>HIYA OF

HASAN. These are the glowing tributes paid to the prince by the contemporary historian and the poets of his courts. His death was a severe blow not only to the old king Balban, who held him as dear as his life, but also to the development of Indo-persian literature. His succession to the throne of Delhi would have created a healthy intellectual atmosphere in the court and opened a new era of Culture and learning. His death was mourned equally by the court and the people. (1) Amír Khusraw wrote two elegies describing the events of his death which were taken up by the common people who for about a month used to chant them as threnodies over their dead from house to house. (2) On this occasion Hasan wrote in prose the following Marṣiya (a lament), which gives not only a vivid description of the battle the prince fought, but also of the deep affection and loyalty the poet bore towards him.

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1. Baranī, p. 109.

2. Badāūnī, Vol. I, p.137.



(1)

THE MARSIYA. It is an old story that although the tyrannous sky ties for a while, the knot of concord and makes the covenant of mutual friendship, it turns away; and although the discordant time, adopts the path of concord for a while and makes the covenant of fidelity yet it breaks away. The impudent sky, whose pupil of manliness is vitiated by the mote of meanness, although like a drunk-man bestows a gift without any idea of generosity, but at the end takes it back like children, without any betrayal of dishonest conduct. The customs and usages of the oppressive time are of this nature. Whether by experience or by rumour we see and hear, whoever it sees rising like the moon it desires to blacken his perfect face with the mark of injury. Whoever it sees rising like a cloud, it strives to shatter its substance into pieces on the horizon. In this garden of grief and this orchard of amazement, as no rose is without a thorn, so no heart is free from the thorn of anguish. Alas! for many a newly sprung verdure that has been turned pale by the calamity of the wind of autumn. Alas! for

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1. The earliest authority where this Marsiya is to be found is the *Tarikh-i-Mubarak-Shahi* (or 1673, ff.354-58.) of the later historians, Nizamu'd-Din and Badaiuni also reproduce it. It seems their authority is the T.M.S.



many a newly sprung plant that has been laid low on the ground by the hurricane of time.....

One of the instances of this parable is the death of the late prince Qá'án-Malik Ghází. on Friday the last day of the month of Zí'l-Hijja 683 A.H. (A.D. 1285) <sup>(1)</sup> when the moon like kindness in the heart of an infidel, was nowhere visible, the sun in the company of the army of Islam appeared with its striking sword. The great prince who was the sun of the heaven of the Kingdom, with the light of holy war shining on his forehead, and with a strong determination for the holy war firmly fixed in his enlightened mind placed his auspicious feet in the stirrups.

1. Baraní says this battle was fought in A.H. 684 (vide p. 109). Khusraw in his elegy says 'the battle was fought on Friday, the last day of the month of Zí'l Hijja, the end of the year 683 and beginning of 684.'

چشمه بود و سلخ خنجر چه که بود آن کارزار  
آخر عشق داد و آغاز عشق داد و چهار

Khusraw and Hasan give us the exact date of this battle whereas Baraní puts simply the year. The correct date of this battle is Friday the 29th of Zí'l-Hijja A.H. 683 = 8th March A.D. 1285. Prof. Haṣīb is wrong in assigning the date of this battle to a hot April day in A.H. 687 (vide his Amír Khusraw pp. 15-20). The Ṭabaqát-i-Akbari says the battle was fought on the third of Zí'l-Hijja, probably it is due



place very strongly and arranged that when the infidels

It was represented to his judgment, the solver  
 of all difficulties that Aítimúr<sup>(1)</sup> had arrived with his  
 whole army at a distance of three farsangs. At daybreak  
 he ordered his army to march from that place, and having  
 faced the infidels at a distance of one farsang from them  
 he selected the place of battle on the bank of the river  
 Laháur (Lahore) on the outskirts of Bágh-i-Sabz. As there  
 was a large marsh adjoining the river he fortified the

1. (Continued). to the copyist's error who transcribed  
 the word *سلخ* as *سوم* (Vide T.A., p.98).

1. The name of the Mongol General.

2. There are different readings as to the name of this  
 place. According to Badáúní it is a big village adjoining  
 the river ( *نهل آب دهنی بزرگ بود* Vol.I, p.132.)

The *Taríkh-i-Mubárah-Sháhi*, reads as *نهل آب دهنی بزرگ بود*  
 (or 1673, f.355). The *Tabaqát-i-Akbarí* reads as *نهل آب*  
*دهنی کولابی بزرگ بود* (Add. 6543, f.44). If we accept Badauni's

text we cannot explain the significance of the two sheets  
 of water mentioned in the next line which formed the rear  
 of the army. Rawking explains the term *دو آب* (Dúáb) as  
 the rivers Ráreí and Satlaj. But these two rivers are so  
 far apart from each other that it was not possible to  
 utilise them as a strategic defence in this particular area.



place very strongly and arranged that when the infidels should advance both the waters would be in the rear of the army so that neither would his soldiers be able to fly from the battle nor could any mishap arise through the enemies on the rear of his army.

In truth, that precaution was due to the extreme vigilance and skill of that world-conquering Khán. But when evil luck befallerh, the string of all affairs gets loose and the thread of all arrangements becomes disorganised.....

It happened that on that day, the moon and the sun who bear close resemblance to Kings, were suspended in the sign of the Fish. Mars, whose red face is due to the blood of the nobles of the state, has drawn the arrow of meanness and the dart of insolence from the quiver of that Zone, against the orion-girdled Khán who was like Leo in the zone of the watery house of blood-shed and destruction, and the proofs of mischiefs and disorders

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2. (Continued). So if we take Dúáb in its litral sense, the sense becomes more clear. I prefer the texts of the other two histories and read the word as دھند (Dhand) meaning a 'swamp'. The word 'Dhandh' in the pubjabí language means a lake, a depression in the ground that fills with water in the rainy seasons, etc. Here I think the author has used this word in the sense of a marsh and the Tabaqát-i-Akbarí



were evident, and the command and significance of the verse "when Fate comes the plain becomes narrow" became impressed in the pages of record.

In short, it was midday, when the horseman of the sky had reached the region of noon and that world illuminating king was on his wane, suddenly a dust (1) arose from the side of the infidels. The Khán-i-Ghází immediately rode on his horse and gave order that the entire army with its rank and file, according to the verse "kill the polythists, all of them" formed in a line a hundred times stronger than the wall of Alexander. (2) After arranging the right and left wings of the army, his august person stood in the centre just like the moon in the midst of the stars. The infidel Tátárs (may confusion and dismay be on them) crossed the river Laháur and opposed the army of Islam. These people, wild and desert born have put the feathers of the owl on their inauspicious heads, while the warriors of Islam consisting of the Turkish and Khaljā

2. (Continued) explains the term by adding the persian word

كولاب (Kúláb = pond or reservoir) after the word "Dhand".

1. Badáúní's text says گردی meaning a band of people. The T.M.S. writes as گردی از سبب آن کوه که در آن است. This reading seems to be correct and makes the sense more clear.

2. Alexander the Great is believed to have built a very strong wall against the incursions of the wild races of Northern Asia to which many of the persian writers refer. This wall is also known as the wall of Gog and Magog.



Maliks and the nobles of Hindustán and the entire army, in the prayer-place of battle<sup>(1)</sup> (for the reason that the prophet has compared Jihád<sup>(1)</sup> to that of prayer saying "We return from lesser war to the greater"<sup>(2)</sup>), • raised their hands by shouting "God is great". In the first attack a large number of the Mongol cavalry were put to the sword. The lances of the Maliks of the state pierced the limbs of the enemy in such a way that each one of them began to spurt blood, and the plumes of the arrows of the Turks, who were in attendance on the prince, became so interlaced in the persons of the Tátárs that no space was left. Every time, the lion-hearted lord, the wielder of the sword, made his attack from the centre of the army with a sword as pure as his faith, you would say that in that field of battle, the sword was trembling at the heroic conduct of the prince; and transforming itself into a tongue was saying to him "Today leave the suppression of this disaster and the destruction of those infidels to the servants of the state. Do not take this personal

- 
1. The holy war.
  2. According to the Sáfís there are two Jiháds (i) Al-Jihád ul-Akbar or the greater warfare, which is against one's lust (ii) Al-Jihád ul-Asghar or the lesser warfare, directed against infidels. (H.D.I.)

of some eyes which is supposed to kill people by their piercing glance.



risk, because the sword is two-edged and the sword of death is not a respecter of persons in its work. No one knows what will happen to whom through the decree of the powerful Fate. I close my eye against that  
(1)  
fateful eye."

During that time he was performing the rites of the holy war and the ceremonies of battle in the field of endeavour, each of the weapons began to speak in the following way. The lance said: "O, prince! withdraw thy hand from me; the tongue of my point, on account of constant fighting and slaying has become blunt; I have not the strength to pierce the enemy. God forbid that when I charge, an unfortunate movement may appear from me." The arrow said: "O, thou! the knot of whose bow-string opens the knot of the nodes, do not advance to meet this danger; for I, myself throw dust on my head in advancing to this dangerous spot. God forbid that the narrow eyed Turk of the sky who is in the fifth House, should shoot an arrow of error by way of tyranny and ruin, from his bow of malice, from the place of ambush at the door of the eight House." And the lasso said: "Today

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1. عین الکمال 'Ayn u'l-Kamál. The evil effect of some eyes which is supposed to kill people by their piercing glance.



the string of planning should not be left out of the hand of deliberation, for I am contorted within myself at this hasty war and this rash conflict. Wait for a while! because Islam and the Muslims are like a rope fastened to the tent of your bounty. O, God! do not allow so much space to the custom of noose-throwing with these people.

In short, that prince, the defender of faith and destroyer of infidelity, from noon till evening, with the main body of his army, carried on the battle with great vigour against that band of heathens. The uproar of the victors and the clamour of the lovers of battle had deafened the ears of the earth and the sky. The fiery tongues which sprung up from the heads of the lances, and the tongues of the swords did not <sup>utter</sup> in a single letter in executing the order of the angel of Death, all uttered (1) the verse "A day when man will flee from his brother". The surface of the earth was full of blood like old men who had lost their sons, and the face of the sky was covered with dust like the heads of sons who had lost their fathers.

In the very midst of this conflict and calamity, suddenly, an arrow from the quiver of Fate had struck the wing of that royal falcon of the field of holy war. And



the bird of his soul had flown from the cage of the body towards the garden of paradise, "verily we belong to God and unto Him do we return."<sup>(1)</sup>

At that moment the prop of the religion of Islam broke like the broken heart of an orphan, and the rampart of the faith of Islam had fallen low like the tomb of the poor. The strength which the state had, passed away and the radiance which Islam possessed had disappeared. It was just at the time of sunset that the moon of the life of that prince, whose fortune was on the wane, sank in the west of extinction.

The sky, after the manner of mourners had put on a blue garment and began to shed black tears over its cheeks; Saturn in accordance with the rules of fidelity and the customs of mourning had blackened its garment, and began to weep over the condition of the people of Hindustán, at his death. Jupiter, in grief for that dust-soiled body and blood-stained mantle, began to tear his garment and throw his turban in the dust. The heart of Mars, on account of his death, became narrow like the eyes of the Turks, and the face of his life became stiff

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1. The formula uttered by a Muslim at the death of a person.



and black like the curls of a negro, and being sorely grieved at this event brought forth his heart's blood. The Fish (sign *pisces*) began to tremble like a ram in the clutches of the butcher. The Sun, out of shame, as to why it did not strive for the prevention of this calamity and disaster, did <sup>not</sup> appear but sank below the earth. When Venus saw the sufferings of the heavenly bodies at the clutches of Time, she played her tamborine more vehemently, changed the tone of the drum and began to sing in a different tune; and instead of playing her instrument she began to weep over the death of that magnanimous prince. Mercury, who in wars and conquests used to record like a scribe the deeds of victory, on that occasion of tyranny blackened his face with the ink of his ink-pot, and clothed himself with a garment of papers made of the pages of his record. The resplendant moon, in the shape of a crescent with a bowed stature, in that land of resurrection, was striking her head against the door and wall of the horizon and observed the rites of condolence.

May God the great and exalted raise the holy and pure soul of that warrior prince to a lofty position and high station! and bestow on him His eternal beauty, greatness and glory! May every kindness and favour which he



showed to this poor and forlorn one, be the cause of  
increasing his dignity and the remover of his faults,

(1)

Amen! O Lord of the Worlds!"

1. The authenticity of this Marsiya has been questioned by Ranking in a note appended to his translation of Badā'ūnī (Vol. I, p. 188, note 5). He says "Ziyā-u'd-Dīn Baranī attributes this lament to Amīr Khusraw. Fā'ishta also states that Amīr Khusraw escaped when the prince was killed, and wrote a lament. It seems probable therefore, that the lament should be attributed to Mīr Khusrāw. The Ḥasan which occurs in Text and both MSS. (A) (B) may have its origin in a copyist's error." The conclusion drawn by this learned scholar is based on a wrong and incomplete translation of a passage of Baranī by Sir Elliot, which says "Amīr Khusraw was made prisoner by the Mughals in the same action, and obtained his freedom with great difficulty. He wrote an elegy on the death of the prince....." (Vide Elliot Vol. III, p. 122). But neither Baranī nor Khusraw himself makes any reference as to his writing a prose Marsiya. On the other hand Baranī definitely says that Khusraw wrote two elegies in verse:- (p 115).

امیر خسرو در آن حرب اسیر مغل شد و بنوعی از دست ایشان رهائی  
یافت و او در مرثیه خان شهید دو شعر گفته است +

P. T. O.



# INTIMATE FRIENDSHIP WITH KHUSRAW AND ACCUSATION

MADE BY THEIR ENEMIES AGAINST THEIR CONDUCT. Here in the court of Khan-i-Shahid the love and friendship between Hasan and Khusraw had developed to such an extent that

## 1. (Continued)

"In that battle Amír Khusraw was made a prisoner by the Mughals, and obtained his freedom by some device and he has written two poems in lament of Khán-i-Shahíd." Firishta says nothing about the Marsiya. He mentions:

امیر خسرو در آن محبوس بود اسیر مغل گشته و آن نوع که در خضر خانی و دیواری رانی ثبت افتاده رهائی یافت و دهلی شتافت

(Vol. I, p. 144). "Amír Khusraw was present in that battle." He became a captive of the Mughals and obtained his freedom in the way as it is described in his Divaldí Rání and Khizr Khání." From these facts it appears that this Marsiya is a genuine work of Hasan and is rightly attributed to him by the historians of India.

1. They were accused of belonging to a heretical sect of Sufis known as "Mujazatis" who practice some reprehensible acts opposed to orthodox and popular opinions. (Vide Firishta Vol. II, p. 785).

2. M.Us., or 208, f. 99; Firishta, Vol. II, p. 785.



(1)  
their calumniators began to ascribe to them gross mis-

(1)  
conduct. This calumny was reported to the prince.

The prince had forbidden Hasan to associate with Khusraw, but he did not comply with his demand and continued to associate with Khusraw as before. The matter was again reported to the prince. This time, the prince was annoyed at Hasan's disobedience and ordered him to be flogged.

But to the utter surprise of the prince and the courtiers he immediately ran to Khusraw's house. The prince then summoned Khusraw and Hasan and demanded an explanation of their alleged misconduct. Khusraw explained their connection to be based on the idea of divine love purged from all earthly impurities, and said "Duality has disappeared from us." Then bringing out his hand he displayed to the prince the marks of the strokes impressed in his own hand,

(2)  
exactly in the place where Hasan received them and said

(2)  
"The proof of real friendship is in the hand." The prince was silenced by this reply and

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1. They were accused of belonging to a heretical sect

of Šūfīs known as "Mūlāmātīs" who practice some reprehensible acts opposed to orthodox and popular opinions.

(Vide Firishta Vol. II, p. 755).

2. M.Us., or 208, f.99; Firishta, Vol. II, p. 755.

1. M. Us. or 208, f.99.

2. D.H. I.C.L. f.123b.



(1)

Khusraw recited the following quatrain:-

"Love came and ran through my veins like blood,  
It had emptied my self and filled it with the Friend,  
The limbs of my body, the Friend possessed,  
All is He, nothing of me is left."

THE ELEMENT OF TRUTH IN THE STORY. We cannot

believe in the miraculous transmission of the punishment of Hasan to Khusraw as it is described by their biographers. It is quite probable that Khusraw's love for Hasan was so deep and sincere that he could not bear the punishment Hasan suffered on his account, and consequently he might have inflicted on himself as a proof of real love and sympathy, the same amount of injury as was received by Hasan. But, however, there is a certain amount of truth in the story. Hasan has probably referred to this incident in the following poem:-

(2)

"As the demonstration of excellence was perfected by

thy beauteous donor,

The private affliction of ours became public enow,

The seed I sowed in thy hope is cast to the dust,

The cauldron I boiled in thy love, putrid became.

My reason, which placed the saddle on the bay-horse

of Time

1. M. Us. or 208, f.99.

2. D.H. I.O.L. f.123b.



Subdued at last by the whip for the love it bore to  
thee.

He who declares not lawful the creed of thy love  
May his blood be lawful and unlawful his dear life.

Oĥ, Khvāya! Be firm in the street of rectitude

(For) None can achieve fame in the lane of love.

Mahmūd Ghazna'ī, the lord of thousand slaves  
Bridled by love became the slave of a slave. (1)

O Hasan! Die in love so that perfection thou mayest  
attain

Have you not heard? He who dies perfection attains."

#### IS LOVE BETWEEN PERSONS OF THE SAME SEX POSSIBLE?

This type of love which we find between Hasan and Khusraw was not uncommon among the súfī poets. To a superficial observer it may be quite a grotesque and reprehensible action. But the idea of such love was quite different among them. It was platonic, something holy and pure, free from passionate desire. They adored beauty for its own sake on the principle that "Beauty is truth, truth

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1. The reference is to Sultan Mahmūd's love for his  
favourite slave Ayáz.

2. R.F., p.13.

3. D.R.I.O.L., f. 134b.



beauty." Once Sa'dí the great persian poet heard of the exquisite personal charms of the son of Khavája Humám u'd-Dín, a man of great distinction and poetical talent at Tabríz, he travelled to that city for the sole purpose of gratifying his eyes by the sight of his

(1) beauty. (2) Sir Ouseley remarks: "Sa'dí was a great admirer of beautiful youths, like all other Şúfís, we may hope, who profess the most ardent, but platonic affection for individuals of their own sex, famous for beauty and talent, declaring it to be less selfish than the love of man to woman, and that they pay the most perfect adoration to the Creator, by thus dis<sup>ta</sup>interestingly loving and admiring His handiwork." The words quoted here may equally well be applied to Khusraw and Hasan.

Our poet expresses this idea in the following verses of (3) one of his poems:-

شمست رخت یامه نی هر دو خطا دیدم  
 در وصف نبی آید روی که ترا دیدم  
 من در تو نظر کردم تو در سخن بنده  
 تو صنعت من دیدی من صنع خدا دیدم

1. M. Us, or 208, f.95. 2. N.P., p.13.

1. D.R.B. No. 461.

3. D.H.I.O.L., f. 184b.

2. R.N. Or 1756, f.175. This book contains the utterances

of the Awliya made during the year 699-90 A.H. The name



"Is thy face a lamp or a moon? No I am wrong in

both,

Beyond description is thy face that I see;

I look at thee and then at my verse

Thou admirest my art and I the handiwork of God."

In a similar way Háfiz also describes the pure nature  
(1) of love he practised:-

منم که شهره شهرم به عشق و وزیدن  
منم که دیده نیالودم به بد دیدن

"That one, am I who am renowned for love-playing

Not that one am I who have stained my eyes with ill-  
seeing."

#### HASAN AND KHUSRAW'S COMPLIMENTS TO EACH OTHER.

The friendship between these two poets seems to have been of a permanent nature and we find complimentary references made by each to the other. In one of the discourses of Nizámu'd-Dín Awliya compiled by Amir Khusraw under the title of Ráhat-u'l-Muhiletan<sup>66</sup> (2) he calls Hasan "my brother". In the Díbá-cha-l-Ghurrat u'l-Kamál where

1. D.H.B., No. 461.

2. R.M. Or 1756, f.175. This book contains the utterances of the Awliya made during the year 689-90 A.H. The name



Khusraw condemns the jealousy of his contemporaries and calls them men of very low merits, he pays a high tribute to the writings of Hasan in the following words:-

"If any one praises the meaningless verses of Mu'izzí for the beauty <sup>of</sup> and their style and diction, he ought to study the style and diction of Sayyid Hasan, <sup>Nuzámí</sup> and Zahir, so that he may be acquainted with them and become a discerning judge." <sup>(1)</sup> Hasan always refers to Khusraw in the most affectionate terms. He calls him his brother. <sup>(2)</sup>

He also, like Khusraw, complains of the jealousy of some of his contemporaries, as the following verses show:-

(3) از سخن دزدی نیارد شد کسی صاحب سخن

دیو اگر انگشت دزد سلیمان کی شود

اهل داند در افشانند و درج معرفت

اندر او گل دزد باشد او در افشان کی شود

از فضل حالندان فضل حسن مخفی نماند

افتاب اندر پرفخاش پنهان کی شود

2.(Continued) of the author does not appear on the title page, but from the preface attached to it, it is evident that the author is Khusraw, who says that this book was compiled after the compilation of his former edition known as Afzal-u'l-Fawā'id and calls the author as Khusraw Láchín.

1. D. G.K. Add. 23,549.f.19b. (2) D.H. Bodl. (on suby 122) f.287.

3. D.H. I.O.L., f. 111.



None can become a master of poetry by pilfering (others)

in some of the works of these two poets the verses,

How can the devil become Solomon by stealing his ring?

The master knows how to scatter pearls and comprehend

of Sa'di and tried to plant them in Indian knowledge,

He who is a pilferer of clay, how can he become a scatterer

of pearls?

The virtues of Hasan will not be concealed by the detraction

of his enemies,

"Hasan has brought a rose from the (Gulistan) rose-garden of  
How can the Sun be concealed under the wing of the bat?

Because But on the other hand he pays a high compliment  
to Khusraw in the following verses:-

(1) خسرو از راه کرم بپذیرد + آنچه من بنده حسن میگویم  
کنم چون کنش خسرو ثبت + کنش اینست که من میگویم

خسرو از خمیان حسن که در شیراز بود

"Khusraw accepts by way of Kindness

"In the goblet of spirituality Hasan has filled a fresh  
Whatever the humble Hasan says.

My poetry is not like the poetry of Khusraw.

With the grape-juice from the tavern of intoxication of  
This that I say is true."

IS HASAN A PUPIL OF KHUSRAW? Some of the

(2)

biographers say that Hasan was a pupil of Khusraw and

- D.H., O.O.L. the book of Sa'di and a rose garden which is  
1. Ibid, f.227. 2. T.D.S., p.247, K.A., Add.18,  
542 f. 65a, and Taqí Kāshí, I.O.L. No. 667 f.540b.  
2. Ibid f. 137.



that he used to imitate the style of the latter. But in none of the works of these two poets do we find any reference which gives evidence for this statement. On the other hand Hasan asserts that he had followed the ideas of Sa'dí and tried to plant them on Indian soil. In one of his Ghazals he says:-

(1)  
حسن گلزار گلستان سعدی آوردست  
که اهل معنی گلچین آن گلستانند

"Hasan has brought a rose from the (Gulistán) rose-garden of Sa'dí,

Because the mysteries <sup>are</sup> are the gatherers of the rose of  
that (Gulistán) rose-garden."  
(2)

In another place he says:-

در خیم معنی حسن را شبنم نور بخش عشق  
شیره از خمیان مستی که در شیراز بود

"In the goblet of spirituality Hasan has filled a fresh  
elegance of love,

With the grape-juice from the tavern of intoxication of  
Shiráz."

1. D.H.I.O.L. f. 107a. There is a pun upon the word "Gulistán" the book of Sa'dí and a rose garden which cannot be preserved in translation.

2. Ibid f. 137.



In a similar way Khusraw also says that he had followed Sadi in his Ghazals and Nizami in Masnavi. (1)  
It seems from their statements that both of them followed the same school of thought in their lyrical poetry and it is for this reason that we find the similarity of ideas between these two poets, which led some biographers to conclude that one is the pupil of the other.

When Jalal u'd-Din established his power firmly he joined the circle of the scholars of the court and became one of the recipients of royal favours. (2)

THE CONTEMPORARIES AT JALAL'S COURT. The scholars contemporary with our poet at the court of this monarch, were Taju'd-Din Nizami, Amir Khusraw, Ruyyid-Jajani, Muhiy-Din, Amir Arslan, Ihtiyar u'd-Din, Badi, Badi Khafiz, Sa'ad-Khatibi and Ghafis-Nasab. Each of them is said to be a poet of high order and an accomplished master in history. (3) A Ghazal written in

1. Barani places the date of his accession in A.H. 688 (p.178) But Khusraw gives the exact date and year to be Tuesday, the 3rd of Jamad II 688 (A.D. 1289, 21, 104, 8, 274, 1)

1. G.K., Add. 21, 104. f. 163<sup>a</sup>. جلال درویش را در روز + شنبه  
بگذاشت بانبروزی نال + ز شربت شکر و شیریناد و نال

Badauni follows Khusraw while Neizam u'd-Din retains the date of Barani.

2. Firishia, Vol. I, p.158. 3. Ibid.



### HASAN AT THE COURT OF JALÁL U'D-DÍN-FÍRÚZ.

After the death of Khán-i-Shahíd we do not hear of Hasan's active association with the court until the accession of Sultan Jalál u'd-Dín Fírúz Sháh Khaljí in A.H. 689 (A.D.

(1) 1290). This was probably because he was a man of retiring disposition and elected to lead the life of a passive spectator during the turmoil which followed the death of Balban. When Jalál u'd-Dín established his power firmly

he joined the circle of the scholars of the court and (2) became one of the recipients of royal favours.

### HIS CONTEMPORARIES AT JALÁL'S COURT. The

scholars contemporary with our poet at the court of this monarch, were Táju'd-Dín <sup>9</sup>NráQí, Amír Khusraw, Muwayyíd-Jajaramí, Muyíd Dívána, Amír Arslán, Ikhtiyár u'd-Dín <sup>10</sup>trary Bāghí, BáQí Khaṭīb, Sa'd-MantaQí and <sup>11</sup>Baḡhí-Hansaví.

Each of them is said to be a poet of high order and an (3) accomplished master in history. A Ghazal written in

1. Baraní places the date of his accession in A.H. 688 (p.175). But Khusraw gives the exact date and year to be Tuesday, the 3rd of Jamád II 689. (Mf. F., Add. 21,104, f.874a.)

جماد دومین را سومین روز + سوم ساعت ز روز عالم افروز  
بگاه چاشت بافیروزی فال + ز هجرت ششصد و هشتاد و نه سال

Badaúni follows Khusraw while Nōizám u'd-Dín retains the date of Baraní. Add. 21, 104, f.184b.

2. Firishta, Vol. I, p.156. 3. Ibid. I, p.132.



nineteen different metres is ascribed to the last named. But the works of these scholars, with the exception of Khusraw have not come down to us. Besides the persons mentioned above, Khusraw adds the names of Mawláná Shiháb-u'd-Dín, Qází Siráj, Táj u'd-Dín Záhid and 'Alá'u'd-Dín-'Alí Sháh who reflected credit upon the assemblies of the court with their poetical compositions and philosophical discussions.  
(1)

JALÁL U'D-DÍN'S LOVE OF LEARNING. Sultan Jalál-

u'd-Dín was not only a patron of learned men but also he possessed himself a certain amount of poetic genius.

Amír Khustaw pays him a very high compliment for his judicious appreciation of men of talent and says that none

of the monarchs of his age had his intelligence or literary  
(2)

taste. Badáúní has ascribed to him three quatrains, one of these was composed as an inscription for a pavillion he built at Gawálíor. It runs thus:-

(3) ما را که قدم بر سر گردون سایه  
از توده گل چه قدر آفرزاید  
این سنگ شکسته زن نهادم در دست  
باشد که دل شکسته آساید

1. G.K., Add. 21, 104, f.184b.

2. Ibid, f.179b.

3. Badáúní, Vol. I, p.182.



"I whose foot spurns the head of heaven  
 How can a heap of clay augment my dignity?  
 I laid right this broken stone in order that  
 perchance some broken heart may take comfort."

ASSASSINATION OF JALÁL U'D-DÍN. In the year  
 (1)  
 695 A.H. (A.D. 1296) was perpetrated one of the most  
 heinous crimes that has ever been recorded in the annals  
 of India. It was the murder of Sultan Jalál u'd-Dín  
 by his nephew and son-in-law 'Aláu'd-Dín. After the  
 return of 'Aláu'd-Dín from his Deccan campaign with enormous  
 wealth he persuaded the King through his brother Ulugh  
 Khán to visit him unarmed in his camp at Kara on the bank  
 of the Ganges. The counsellors of the king, suspecting  
 some treacherous design on the part of 'Aláu'd-Dín, warned  
 him not to risk taking such a step. But the King had  
 such love for 'Aláu'd-Dín and such great confidence in him  
 that he did not listen to their advice, but went to meet  
 his nephew under the delusive impression of his fidelity  
 (2)  
 on the 17th of Rama<sup>2</sup>an, just as a father goes to see his  
 son. When he landed at the camp 'Aláu'd-Dín came forward

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1. Baraní p. 223.

2. <sup>Ibid</sup> Baraní, pp. 231-35.

2. Ibid, p. 235.



with some of his nobles and all made their obeisance.

The Sultan was highly pleased at his behaviour and began to give him paternal admonitions in the following words:-

"You are always dearer to me than my own sons. What fear led you to make me come here during the fast? None can come between you and me. These strangers who are now flocking round you for your gold will run away as soon as they see you with no gold. But my affection and love for you will not diminish even if the whole world turns against you."<sup>(1)</sup> Having finished these words the

King held 'Aláu'd-Dín's hand, and wanted to go to his special boat. At this juncture an assassin named Mahmúd-Sálim, at the signal of 'Aláu'd-Dín attacked the Sultan, and wounded him severely. The King had just strength

enough to run towards his boat, crying: "Oh, ungrateful

'Aláu'd-Dín! what have you done?"<sup>(2)</sup> and as he was

attempting to save himself, another assassin named

Ikhtiyár u'd-Dín Húd came and severed his head from his

body. It is surprising to find that neither Amír Hasan nor Khusraw makes any mention of this tragic event.

Probably, both of them being the poets of his court and

1. Baraní, p. 234.

2. Ibid, p. 235.



recipients of 'Aláu'd-Dín's gold deliberately connived at this incident and praised their patron for his valour and statesmanship. Baraní describes this as one of the most atrocious deeds that has ever been perpetrated since the creation of the world. (1)

ACCESSION OF 'ALÁ'U'D-DÍN. After the murder of Jalál u'd-Dín, 'Alá'u'd-Dín proclaimed himself King in his camp. Ahmad Chap, one of the generals of the late King, did not submit to the usurper, but returned to Delhi with his army. The widow of Fírúz raised her younger son Qadr Khán to the throne under the title of Sultan Rukn u'd-Dín Ibráhím at Delhi. (2) But this young prince could not consolidate his power, whereas 'Alá'u'd-Dín by his profuse distribution of gold began to gain the support of the nobles and a few months after the murder of Fírúz he entered Delhi at the head of his army and ascended the throne at the end of the year 695 A.H. (A.D. 1296) at the Red Palace of Balban. (3)

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1. *Ibid.* Baraní, p. 235 2. Hasan must have been in his court for some time as we find two poems written in honour of Sháh Rukn u'd-Dín Ibráhím. (D.H.I.O.L. f. 201).

4. Baraní pp. 246-47.



'ALÁ'U'D-DÍN'S AMBITION. 'Alá'u'd-Dín was a

very presumptuous and ambitious man. He was not satisfied with the kingly crown of Delhi but wanted to equal Alexander in his world conquest and the prophet Muḥammad (1) in his spiritual domain. He was, however, discouraged by his supporters in his ambition to be accepted as a prophet but he was undaunted in his desire to achieve the fame of Alexander. Although he could not execute his plan of world conquests beyond the limits of India, yet he assumed the title of Alexander II. In many of the Qasidas of Amír Ḥasan he is addressed as "Sikandar-i-Sání" (2) (Alexander II) This fact has also been corroborated by the evidence of some of the coins and inscriptions of his time. His gold coins struck in 709 A.H. (A.D.1309), (3) bear the following inscription.

Circular area:- Alexander II the right hand of the Caliphate, the support of the commander of the faithful.

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1. Baranī pp. 262-271.
  2. D.H., I.O.L., ff. 23, 26, 36, 40a, 42a, 43a, 51b.
  3. Thomas's "The Chronicle of the pattern Kings of Delhi", pp. 168-174. Ḥasan also addresses him as Yamin ul-Khiláfat or the Right hand of the Caliphate in the following verses:-

توی بر خلافت بحق دست یاب  
 یمن الخلافت ازان شد خطاب (D.H., I.O.L., f.246)



You have brought me wealth and honour from the King.

The legend occupying the full face of the coin:-

Sultan 'Alá' u' d-Dunya-u' d-Dín Abul-Muzaffar Muhammad Sháh al-Sultan.

Margin:- This coin was struck at Delhi in the year 709.

HASAN AT THE COURT OF 'ALÁ' U'D-DÍN. After the

death of Sultan Jalál u' d-Dín, Hasan transferred himself to the service of Sultan 'Alá' u' d-Dín Khaljí. He was first introduced to the court by Malik 'Izzu' d-Dín Ulugh-Khán and he refers to this incident in the following

(1)

verses of a short poem addressed to him.

مرا از ژرف دریای خطرناک + تو اوردی برون چون گوهر پاک  
بس اندر صدر دولت راه دادی + محل دست بوس پادشاه دادی X  
ز سلطان گنجیم اوردی و تشریف + عطاء خود بخدا به انجا کردی تفضیف  
سر ختم تو بر کردی ز حسن + می این را کی توانم شکر گفتن

"From the depth of a perilous sea

You have brought me out like a pure pearl;

Then you have introduced me to the court,

You give me the honour of kissing the hand of the King;



You have brought me wealth and honour from the King,  
(And) doubled it by gifts of your own.

You have filled my fortune with goodness,  
How can I offer thanks to you for all these things?"

Here at the court of this king we find Hasan at his best; and this is the most fruitful period of his life, when he completes his Díván and attains great fame as an eminent poet. Zih Baraní the contemporary historian of our poet says: "Amír Hasan Sanjarí was a unique figure among the poets of the time of 'Alá' u'd-Dín." (1)

#### PROMOTION OF LEARNING DURING 'ALÁ' U'D-DÍN'S REIGN.

The reign of 'Alá' u'd-Dín from A.H. 695-715 (A.D. 1295-1315) is one of the most flourishing periods of Indo-persian literature. Delhi, under 'Alá' u'd-Dín, possessed one of the most brilliant bands of sêrvants, the like of which we fail to find even in the court of his successors, the great Mughals. The activities of these scholars were not confined to any particular system of learning but were diffused over various branches of mundane and spiritual sciences.

(2) Baraní mentions the names of forty-six scholars of great repute who have devoted their time and ehergy to the development of traditional and rational sciences; and large

1. Baraní, p. 360.

2. <sup>Did</sup> Baraní, p. 353. people.



numbers of students used to flock round them to receive instructions in these branches of learning. The same <sup>(1)</sup> historian remarks in another place that each of these men could compete with any of the learned scholars of Bukhára, SamarQand, Baghdád, Egypt, Khiva, Damascus, Tabáz, Ispahán, Ray and Iconium. Besides these scholars, so highly spoken of by the historian, there were other men of talent who turned their attention towards the development of the science of Qirá'at (reading of the Qur'án), the arts of <sup>(2)</sup> preaching, poetry, history, and the sciences of medicine, astronomy, astrology and necromancy, so that we find during this period an all-round development of Indo-persian culture.

QÁRÍS OR READERS. AND PREACHERS. Of the readers of the Qur'án, Mawláná Jamál u'd-Dín Shátíá, Mawláná 'Alá' u'd-Dín, and Khwája Zakí, a nephew of Hasan of Basra, obtained very great reputation throughout the length and breadth of the country. The most noteworthy preachers of the time were Mawláná 'Imád u'd-Dín Husám Dahvísh, Mawláná Zíá u'd-Dín-Sumnámí, Mawláná Karím u'd-Dín and Badr u'd-Dín of Oudh. They used to deliver weekly lectures on religious and spiritual subjects to large congregations. The efforts of these scholars had produced a pure atmosphere of academic X interest at the capital and did a great deal for the moral advancement of the people.

1. Barani, p. 359.

2. Ibid, p. 361.



POETS. "There were poets" says Baranī, "in

the reign of 'Alā'u'd-Dīn, such as never existed before  
(1)

or after." Besides Hasan and Khusraw, who headed the

list, there were other men of high poetic talent, such

as Ṣadr u'd-Dīn 'Alī, Fakhr u'd-Dīn Qawwās, Ḥamīd u'd-Dīn-

Rājah, Mawlānā 'Arīf, 'Ubaid Ḥakīm, Shihāb Anṣārī, and

Ṣadr Bastī, who adorned the court of Delhi. Each of

these poets was in receipt of allowances from the state

and each one of them is said to have left us a *Dīvān*.  
(2)

of the Imperial Army. He wrote a history of the reign of

'Alā'u'd-Dīn describing in detail all the conquests and

achievements of his sovereign. Baranī has used it as

one of his sources for the *Tārīkh-i-Fīrūz-Shāhī*. But

he complains that this history is rather a eulogy than a

mere statement of fact. All the defects of 'Alā'u'd-Dīn's

administration have been deliberately suppressed and his

achievements and character have been extolled beyond limit.

We cannot blame this historian for his one-sided view, as

he had to present every part of this history to the emperor

for his approval, so that he had to guard against writing

anything which would incur the displeasure of the monarch.  
(3)

1. Baranī, p. 359.

2. Ibid, p. 361.

2. <sup>Ibid</sup> Baranī p.361.

3. Ibid.



HISTORIANS. Of the historians at the Court of 'Alá'u'd-Dín there were two men noted for their proficiency in this branch of learning. One is Amír Arslan-Kuláhí and the other Kabír-u'd-Dín, son of Táju'd-Dín 'Iráqí.<sup>(1)</sup> Amír Arslan had a so wonderful memory that when 'Alá'u'd-Dín asked him any questions on the history of the past kings he could enlighten him on these points without any reference to the texts. Kabír u'd-Dín was held in great esteem by the Sultan, and was appointed the chief-justice<sup>(2)</sup> of the Imperial Army. He wrote a history of the reign of 'Alá'u'd-Dín describing in detail all the conquests and achievements of his sovereign. Baraní has used it as one of his sources for the Taríkh-i-Firúz-Sháhí. But he complains that this history is rather a eulogium than a mere statement of fact. All the defects of 'Alá'u'd-Dín's administration have been deliberately suppressed and his achievements and character have been extolled beyond limit. We cannot blame this historian for his one-sided view, as he had to present every part of this history to the emperor for his approval, so that he had to guard against writing<sup>(3)</sup> anything which would incur the displeasure of the monarch.

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1. Baraní p.361.

2. <sup>Ibid</sup> Baraní p.361.

3. Ibid.



MEDICINE, ASTRONOMY AND ASTROLOGY.      The science

of medicine was studied equally with other branches of learning. A large number of skilful physicians grew up at the capital and people of different castes and creeds - the Brahmins, Játs and the Muslims, took keen interest in the development of this science. Among the physicians of Delhi Mawláná Badr u'd-Dín-Damashqí occupied the highest position. He not only attended to his patients but often used to give instruction to other physicians of the city. His proficiency in his profession was so high that he could diagnose any disease by examining the pulse of the patient and could say whether a particular ailment was curable or not. There was also another group of scholars who devoted their time and energies to the development of the sciences of Astronomy and Astrology. The services of this group were equally appreciated by the king as well as by the nobility. The chief of the astronomers of the Court was Mawláná Sharaf u'd-Dín who was granted a substantial allowance and the income from several villages, (1) by the Sultan. the language of others; his broken

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1. G. K., Add. 21.104, 2.155.

1. Baraní p.363-64.



THE NATURE OF PERSIAN LANGUAGE WRITTEN AND SPOKEN

DURING THIS PERIOD. The Persian spoken and written in India during this period was much purer than that found during the later Mughal days. The early emigrants retained the purity of their tongue, which their successors failed to do. The following interesting account of the Indo-Persian language has been given by (1)  
Amir Khusraw :

"The singers of the land of Hindustán, particularly the emigrants who have settled at Delhi, surpass all the scholars of the world in their attainments. Therefore no Arab, Khuráwání, Turk, Indian nor any other who comes to the Muslim cities of India and spends his whole life in places like Delhi, Multán and Lakhnaúti, and not in places like Gujarat, Málwa and Deogír, the land, of Hindu idolatry, suffers deterioration in his own language. Assuredly he speaks according to the standard of his own country. For example, if he is an Arab, he is the master of his own language only, and he cannot lay a proper claim to the language of others; his broken

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1. G. K., Add. 21,104, f.155.



speech is a proof of his foreign origin. If a Hindu citizen or a villager continually lives and mixes with the inhabitants of Delhi, yet there is imperfection in his Persian. A Khurásání, 'Iráqí, Shírází or a Turk, however intelligent he may be, commits blunders in the Indian language, even if he burns many a midnight candle and claims eloquence in an assembly, yet at the end he stumbles and breaks down. But the Munshís (secretaries) born and brought up in Indian cities and particularly at Delhi, with but little practice,

can speak and understand the spoken language (of others)

and also obtain a command over prose and verse; they can adopt the style of every country they visit. And it

has been fully proved from experience, that many of our people who have never been to Arabia, have acquired an eloquence in the Arabic language such as has not been achieved by the scholars of Arabia themselves who take lessons from the flow of their language. The Arabs, in spite of being eloquent in their own tongue, have not ability to learn our Persian correctly.

(1) I have seen many a Tázik - not Turk - who learn

1. The word Tájik or Tázik is used by different writers in different sense. The early Armenian writers applied it to the Arabs, modern Armenians have imposed it on in the sense of Persian speaking Turkestani.



Turkish with industry and erudition in India; and they speak in such a way that the eloquent men of this tribe who come from their original home are astonished at it. In the case of the Persian language, which has been derived from the Persians, there is no other correct style than the style of Trans-Oxiana, which is the same as that of Hindustán. Because the Kharásánís pronounce the word چ (cha) as چی (chí) and some of them read کبی (kujá) as کجو (kajú) but in writing they use چ (cha) not چی (chí) and کبی (kujá) not کجو (kajú).

Footnote 1 continued from previous page.

the Turks and the Turkish empire and even on Muslims in general. Prof. Nöldke has suggested that Tájik (better Táchik) and Tází are the same word, the former being merely the older form. Chik means "belonging to" and in this case "belonging to the tribe of Táí." In modern Persian Chik becomes Zi. D'ohsson says "The Mongols gave the name of Tájik, or Tázik to the Muhammadans, and in the historical works of this period it will be found that they employed this word in opposition to that of 'Turk'. The first served to designate the Muhammadan inhabitants of towns and cultivated lands, whether they were of Turki, Persian or Arab origin mattered not." (Vide Ross & Elias's Introduction to Ta'ríkh-i-Rashídí pp. 85, 87, 90-91.) I think Khusraw has used this term in the sense of Persian speaking Turkestání.



The correct pronunciation is that denoted by the spelling. There are many words like these which are pronounced in one way but wrong if written so. .... But the Persian speech prevalent in India, from the bank of the Indus to the coast of the Indian ocean is everywhere the same." It is evident from this account that the standard style of Persian (1) adopted in India was that of the Trans-Oxiana.

ALLEGED INDIFFERENCE OF 'ALÁ' U'D DÍN TOWARDS MEN OF LETTERS.

After describing the state of science and literature during 'Alá' u'd-Dín's reign, Baraní complains that the Sultan did not show proper consideration for the merit of the scholars of his time. If these scholars had remained at the Court of Mahmúd or Sanjar each of them

- in the following words : (1)
1. It is after Sikandar Lodí's accession to the throne in A.D. 1489 the Hindus seriously studied Persian to qualify for state's service; since then we find an increasing difference in the style of India and Persia proper. (Firishta Vol.I, p.344.): -

و کافران بخواندن و نوشتن خط فارسی که تا آن زمان در میان ایشان  
معمول نبود پرداختند -



would have been rewarded with the income of a principality. But in spite of this alleged indifference of the king, we find his reign to be one of the most flourishing periods of Indo-Persian scholarship. Baranī calls it one of the wonderful phenomena of his time, which he fails to explain, and he has rather exaggerated the king's indifference. It is of course true that the king did not squander money on men of letters as some of the oriental potentates do, but we cannot say that he was entirely without generosity to them. His bounty was regulated by a consideration of the economy of the state and consequently he paid the poets of his court what he considered to be most reasonable. Khusraw, in describing the character of the king, refers to the principle of moderation that always governed his actions, in the following words : (1)

"The characteristics of his august nature are in accord with the canons of wisdom; his anger is like a pleasant fire that cooks, but which does not burn the world; his mercy is like that of a fresh breeze that raises no dust; his disposition is like water that pleases, but does not drown; and his generosity is like a mine that produces wealth but destroys it not."

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1. I.K., Vol. I, p.39.

2. I.K., Vol. I, pp. 18-22.



THE CAUSES THAT CONTRIBUTED TO THE DEVELOPMENT  
OF ART AND LITERATURE DURING 'ALÁ'U'D-DÍN'S REIGN.

The development of art and literature during 'Alá'u'd-Dín's reign, may be ascribed chiefly to two causes: first, to

(1)

a strong and stable central government and a general peace and prosperity in the country, which led to the growth of a leisured class that could devote its time to the promotion of learning; and secondly, to the gradual increase in the number of emigrants from Persia, to whom reference has been made in the introduction; these people by this time had made India their permanent home and, living under a more settled and peaceful government, could transmit their heritage to Indo-persian culture. A

very interesting account of the general peace and prosperity of the country has been left to us by Amír Khusraw, a study of which gives us a true picture of the age. I am quoting below a few of its passages:-

(2)

"peace and tranquillity";- How excellent! the carpet of peace and tranquillity is spread over the whole domain, for from the forts of Delhi to the court-yards of

1. For details of the administrative regulations and the strength of the Government, see Baranī, pp. 304-325; and

C.H.I., Vol. III, ch. V. from the royal granaries.....

2. I.K., Vol. I, pp. 18-22.



Kharásán, a carpet of ruby-coloured satin has been laid with the blood of the red-faced chinese, so that every rebellion and disturbance have fallen low.

In one direction the mountain-like army of Chingíz-Khán has been driven beyond the oxus by the hurricane of his Majesty; and in the other direction not only have the powerful Rais of India, who with their thousands of elephants used to trample the ranks of the Turks, been forced to surrender their elephants and their wealth, but some of them who still held their heads up were crushed in such a way that their heads were thrown like oilcans under the elephant's' feet....."

Welfare of the people in general:- "In affairs relating to the spread of justice and welfare of the people, his bright intellect has formulated such laws as could never be seen in the mirror of Alexander's imagination or in the cup of Jamshíd. For the purpose of cheapening corn, which is the leaven of one's sustenance, he made such regulations by his balanced judgment, that if for years the wandering cloud does not rain, the hot-tempered wind does not blow, the red-faced earth does not grow any verdure, and the scorching sun fails to ripen the crops, he can feed the entire people from the royal granaries.....



And other necessities of the people, even if they be red-sulphur or white ruby, have been rendered by him easily available and cheaper than yellow amber and red-grape-stone. And money which is the elixir of desire and the treasure house of cherished objects, has been made so cheap by his elephant-loads of gifts and charities, that the dearness of the price of a thing is never felt by any person, so that complete peace and prosperity prevail in his dominion.....

"The administration of his justice is always bringing good fortune upon his subjects. Owing to the general peace and prosperity during his auspicious reign, the weapons of war are lying idle in every direction..... The dagger of the believer, which was cleaner than the heart of a Sunni, has become rusted like the iron heart of a pagan..... The roofs are more secure than the veil of chastity worn by virtuous ladies. The districts are free from anxieties like contented children in the lap of a kind mother..... The dawn of the King's fortune has nothing to do but to bestow favour over the world, and the canopy of his evening has no other work but the distribution of peaceful sleep among the children of Adam....."

1. D.B.L.O.L., p. 413.

2. Ibid., p. 446.



Although In a similar way Hasan also refers to the general peace and prosperity of the country in some of his poems addressed to 'Alá'u'd-Dín. In one place he says:-

(1) چشم از جاهش افزوده خدم از جودش اسوده  
ستم در عهدش آواره جهان از عدلش آبادان

"His grandeur augments the retinue, his generosity satisfies the servants,  
His reign has banished oppression, the world is abounding with his justice."

In another place he says:-

(2) ای بزمان دولت گرگ مرئی رمه  
وی بزمان رحمت ماه رفوگر کتان

"O, then! in thy reign the wolf is the guardian of the flock  
Under thy protection the moon is the mender of linen."

#### INTIMATE ASSOCIATION OF HASAN WITH NIZÁM U'D-DÍN

AWLIYÁ. During the reign of 'Alá'u'd-Dín, we find Hasan in closer association with Shaykh Nizám u'd-Dín Awliyá.

1. D.H., I.O.L., f. 416.

2. Ibid, f. 446.



Although he came in contact with the Shaykh at a time much earlier than this, his acquaintance with him was casual rather than intimate. The incident which brought about a change in Hasan's life and caused him to be one of the most favoured disciples of the Shaykh has been described by Mawláná Shiháb u'd-Dín Imám, a contemporary divine, in the following way:-

"One day the Shaykh went to visit the shrine of Khvāja Qutb u'd-Dín Bakhtiyár-Kákí at old Delhi. I myself and Mawláná Burhán u'd-Dín Gharíb were in the company of his Holiness. After visiting the shrine, we happened to pass by the tank known as Hawz-i-Shamsí, in order to visit the tombs of some other saints. At this place, Khvāja Hasan the poet, the son of 'Alá'-i-Sanjari, who had been known to the Shaykh for some time past, was engaged in drinking wine in the company of his friends. When he saw the Shaykh, he came forward and recited the following verses:-

سألهما بانكده ما هم محبتينيم  
گر محبتها اثری بودی کجاست  
زهدتان فسق از دل مانگم نکند  
فسق ما بهتر از زهد شماست

1. D.E.I.O.L., f. 227a.

2. Some authorities differ as to his age at this time. e.g.

1. S.A., or. 215, f. 153a.

The Encyclop. says: "At the age of 53 he became a Murid of



'Many a year have we passed in thy company

If companionship has any influence, where is it?

Thy virtues removed not vices from our minds,

Our vices are better than thy virtues.'

When the Shaykh heard this, he replied:

'Companionship has its influence if God wills, it will

be effective one day.' This remark of the Shaykh produced

such an impression on his mind that he immediately fell

at the feet of the Shaykh and made a confession of all his

sins and became a staunch disciple of the Shaykh along with

all his companions." A reference to his penitence at an

advanced age has been made by the poet in one of his Qitās

where he says:

(1) ای حسن توبہ انگلی کردی

کہ ترا قوت گناہ نہ ماند

"O, Hasan! thou hast made penitence at a time

When no strength was left in thee to commit sin."

1. F.P. THE DATE OF HIS INITIATION. He was initiated

into the circle of discipleship of the Shaykh in A.H.707

(2) (A.D.1308) when he was fifty-six years of age. The date

1. D.H.I.O.L., f. 227a.

2. Some authorities differ as to his age at this time. e.g.

The Ency. 961, says: "At the age of 53 he became a Muríd of



of this initiation has been given by him in the Faváid-  
 (1)  
 ul-Fu'ád, where he says: "On Sunday the third of Sha'bán  
 A.H. 707 (A.D. 1308) this humble sinner, Ḥasan 'Alá'-i-Saḥjarí,  
 the builder of this edifice and the compiler of these  
 mysteries, obtained the felicity of kissing the feet of  
 that King of heavenly dignity and of divine wisdom. on this  
 very day, by the splendour of the glance of that incomparable  
 chief of the saints of illuminated soul, he (Ḥasan)  
 obtained purification from the contamination of the four  
 elements; and his head was adorned with the four cornered  
 (2)  
 cap of the Saviour of Saints." On this occasion the  
 poet composed a Ghazal in which he says:

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2. (Continued) Nizám." The Arabic History of Gujarát  
 (p. 858) and the Safinat ul-Árifín (Or. 213 f. 22b.) say that  
 he became a Muríd at the age of 73. But the statement of  
 Ḥasan quoted above shows that all these authorities are  
 wrong in their inference.

1. F.F. Or. 1806, f. 2. Ḥasan in A.H. 716 (A.D. 1316). Ḥasan

2. A special type of cap worn by the Ṣúfís of the Chistiya  
 order in India to which the Shaykh belongs.

eight months in the camp. According to this account the  
 expedition must have been led sometime in Jamád I A.H. 716  
 (July, 1316). This being the testimony of a person who  
 accompanied the campaign seems to be more reliable than that  
 of others.



(1) حسن امروز سر اندر قدم شینخ آورد

خند آن بنده مقبل که بدین شاه رسید

"Hasan placed his head today at the feet of the Shaykh,  
Happy is that fortunate slave who reached this King."

Since this time we find Hasan a constant visitor  
at the monastery of the Shaykh except for a period of  
eight months in the year 716-17 A.H. (A.D.1316-17), when  
he was absent from Delhi and went to Deogír with the  
(2)  
imperial army. During the period of his intimate association

- 
1. D.H.I.O.L., f. 137b.
  2. F.F., Or. 1806, f.91. This is an expedition led by  
Qutb u'd-Dín Mubárah-Sháh against Harýpál Dev of Deogír who  
rebelled against the imperial authority. The date of the  
expedition is variously given. Baraní (p.389) says it was  
in A.H.718 (A.D.1318). Amír Khusraw says (Nuh Sephr Add.  
21, 104, f. 675a....) it was in the year of the accession  
of Qutb u'd-Din to the throne in A.H. 716 (A.D.1316). Hasan  
says that he returned from this expedition on Thursday the  
12th of Muharram A.H.717 (28th March 1317), after spending  
eight months in the camp. According to this account the  
expedition must have been led sometime in Jamád I A.H.716  
(July, 1316). This being the testimony of a person who  
accompanied the campaign seems to be more reliable than that  
of others.



with the Shaykh, he compiled his prose book known as the Favá'id u'l-Fu'ád, consisting of the utterances of the Awliyá made in different evening assemblies, which will be discussed in a later chapter. The compilation of this book was considered a mark of special distinction, <sup>conferred</sup> ~~conferred~~ upon Hasan by his spiritual guide, which aroused the jealousy of his friends. Even Amír Khusraw often used to say: "Would that the honour and distinction of compiling this book had fallen on me and that all my works were attributed to Khvāja Hasan." (1) The poet was very highly esteemed by the Shaykh, and often poems composed by him were sung by the Qawwáls or mystic singers at the assembly of Samá' (ecstatic dance), at the monastery, in which Hasan and his friends used to join. (2) The Siyarul 'Arifin gives an interesting description of the assembly of Samá' and the part played by our poet in these words:- (3)

"Whenever the King of the saints wished to listen to an ecstatic song Khvāja Khusraw would begin by reciting a Ghazal. Amír Hasan would sit on the right of Khvāja Khusraw and Mubashshir on the left. The above mentioned

- 
1. S.A., Or. 215, f. 154a. and spend it on the poor.
  2. M.G., Or. 4610, f. 101. to the service of humanity and
  3. S.A., Or. 215, f. 139b - 40a. a spirit of universal love



Mubash-shir was a slave purchased by the Shaykh, who had in his elegant voice something of the melody of David. Khvāja Khusraw and Khvāja Hasan were unique in the <sup>art</sup> science of music and unequalled for their sweetness of voice. There were two hundred Qawwāls in the service of his Holiness, who could bring down the birds of the air by their song, and there was also a large number of men of perfection and Sūfīs of high station. When Khvāja Khusraw would recite a Ghazal, Khvāja Hasan and Mubashshir would immediately sing in unison the couplet of which his Holiness would show his approval, and then his Holiness would come into a state of ecstasy and listen to the Samá'."

#### INFLUENCE OF THE SHAYKH ON HASAN'S CHARACTER.

Shaykh Nizām u'd-Dīn was a man of very strong character, never to be tempted by material gain, in spite of the hard times he had so often to face. There were occasions when he had to go without food and suffer penury and distress yet he would not condescend to beg any favour from the kings or the nobles of the court, but relied entirely upon God. He would of course accept what was offered to him without being asked for and spend it on the poor.

His whole life was dedicated to the service of humanity and all his actions were governed by a spirit of universal love



for mankind in general. These traits of the Shaykh greatly influenced Hasan's life. He tried to follow in the footsteps of his spiritual guide; and whenever he was faced with any problem of daily life which he was unable to solve or had some doubts as to the righteousness of a certain course of action he proposed to take, he would ask the direction of the Shaykh and do it accordingly. Once when the poet was offered a gift by a friend of his, he did not know what to do, and so came to the Shaykh and asked the following question:<sup>(1)</sup> "This slave has never asked nor did expect anything from any person at any time of his life, but if a person shows kindness and offers a gift what should be done?" The Shaykh replied, "It should be accepted." Then he acted accordingly. Zia Barani in describing the character of our poet says: "For the observance of the rules of contentment, for the purity of his faith, and for the happiness he experiences without any material comfort, and for the outward separation and the inward solitude from the attachment of the world, I seldom saw a man like him. He was such an amiable, pleasant,

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1. F.F., Or. 1806, f.67.

where he says that Bahá'u'd-Din Zakariya and the Qazi of Multan were involved in the conspiracy. The plot was discovered by



ingenious, polite and cultured man that nowhere else could I get that amount of pleasure and comfort which I used to enjoy in his company. " These characteristics attributed to him by the historian are more or less a replica of the common traits of his spiritual guide, impressed upon him during the course of his long association with him.

THE RELATION OF THE SHAYKH WITH HIS CONTEMPORARY SOVEREIGNS. The relation of the Shaykh with the reigning monarchs of his time was cordial except with Sultan Qutb-u'd-Dín Mubárah-Sháh and Ghíyás u'd-Dín Tughlaq. It seems that both these sovereigns suspected him of having part in political intrigues against them. No direct charge could be brought against him, but the frequent visits of the nobles and some of the princes to his monastery led these kings to look upon him with some concern, especially as there are instances of holy men taking part in conspiracies during the reign of their predecessors, particularly at Multán and Delhi, where Bahá u'd-Dín-Zakariá<sup>(2)</sup> and Sídí-

1. In. Baraní, p.360. Lower the Shaykh in the estimation of

2. F.F., Or. 1806, f.119. The plot against Qabacha has been mentioned by Nizám u'd-Din Awliyá in one of his discourses where he says that Bahá u'd-Dín Zakaria and the Qází of Multán were involved in the conspiracy. The plot was discovered by

1. Baraní, pp. 203-12. 2. Baraní, pp. 393-94.



(1)  
Mawla were connected with a dastardly plots against Sultan Náṣir u'd-Dín Qabacha and Jalál u'd-Dín Khaljī respectively.

The unfavourable attitude of Qatb u'd-Dín Khaljī towards the Shaykh arose out of the conspiracy organised by his cousin Malik Asád u'd-Dín Yaghāsh Khán who wanted to deprive the King of his throne. The plot was however disclosed to the Sultan by one of the conspirators and he seized Asád u'd-Dín and put him to death with all his family and confederates. The Sultan was not satisfied with the death of the conspirators but he sent an officer to Gawálior to put to death Khizr-Khán, Shádí Khan, and Shiháb u'd-Dín, the sons of 'Alá' u'd-Dín Khaljī, who had already been blinded by his previous orders.

(2)

Thus he put an end to all his rivals to the throne. As Khizr Khán was one of the most devoted disciples of the Shaykh, the King thought that he was implicated in the plot against him in order to place his disciple on the throne; and from that time he began to bear grudge against him. He tried to lower the Shaykh in the estimation of

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2.(Continued) the sultan; the Qází was hanged but Bahá u'd-Dín managed to get himself extricated from the charge of the crime.

1. Baraní, pp. 208-12.
  2. <sup>96id.</sup> Baraní, pp. 393-94.
2. S.A., Or. 215., f.142.



the people, ordered his officers not to visit his monastery, and, as a sign of open hostility, he invited Shaykh u'l-Islam Rukn u'd-Dín of Multán to Delhi, and set up another saint named Shaykh Zádá-Jám as a rival of Nizám-u'd-Dín at Delhi. He went so far as to declare a reward of one thousand gold Tankas to any man who would bring him the head of Awliyá.<sup>(1)</sup>

At this time Hasan was sent by the Awliyá to Shaykh Zádá u'd-Dín Rúmí, the spiritual director of Qutb-u'd-Dín, with a message asking him to request the Sultan to cease his persecutions. But Hasan could not deliver the message to him as Shaykh Rúmí was confined to bed with an attack of colic. He died of this illness a few days after Hasan's arrival, and his death put an end to any hope which Nizám u'd-Dín had of his intercession.<sup>(2)</sup> The King was obdurate in his determination to humiliate the Awliyá and he ordered him to attend the court in person and pay obeisance at the beginning of every month. The Shaykh refused to comply with this order, and the King intended to use this refusal as a pretext for wreaking vengeance upon him. But before the day fixed for his attendance at the court, the murder of the Sultan by the

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1. *Barani*, Ibid., p. 396.  
2. S.A., Or. 215., f.142.



Burwar rebels saved the Shaykh from the personal humiliation. throne he wished to recover all the money distributed

After the murder of Qatb u'd-Dín when Khustaw Khán usurped the throne, he distributed gold to different saints in order to get their moral support; some of them accepted his offers and some refused. A sum of five hundred thousand Lankas was given to Nizám u'd-Dín, which he accepted (1) and distributed among the poor. When Sultan Ghiyás u'd-

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1. S.A. Or, 215, f.154a. The question may be raised why the saint being a man of strong moral character and always professing to be free from wordly temptation, accepted the ill-gotten money from Khusraw Khán. The principle on which he acts on such occasions may be gathered from his views on "Income and expenditure" expressed in one of the discourses of the Fawá'id-ul-Fu'ád where he says "A man should not beg of anything; neither should he speak out nor think in his mind that so-and-so would give him a certain thing. But if a thing is offered to him without being asked and hoped for, then it is lawful to him. A certain great man has said 'I never ask for a thing nor do I entertain any hope from any one but whoever offers me a thing I accept it even if the donor be a Satan.'" (F.F., Or. 1806, f.23.)



Dīn TughlaQ had overpowered Khusraw Khān and ascended the throne he wished to recover all the money distributed by the usurper. All the Shaykhs but Nizām u'd-Dīn, who retained the money in safe custody to return it to its lawful owner, complied with the demand of the Sultan. But Nizām u'd-Dīn, having spent the whole amount on the poor could not do so. He replied: "It was a public property which had gone to the deserving ones. I have not spent  
(1)  
a single farthing of it on my account." This incident had brought about a strained relationship between the King and the Shaykh. The King, at the instigation of some of his enemies, brought a charge of heresy against him for performing Samā' (ecstatic dance) accompanied by music, which is against the canons of orthodoxy. He was brought before an assembly of the doctors of divinity, where he was asked to explain his conduct. After some discussions, the Sultan was convinced of the legality of Samā' and he  
(2)  
was allowed to go free. But the King did not forgive

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1. S.A., Or, 215, f.154b.

2. S.Au., Or. 1746, ff. 132-33. Hasan also refers to the accusations made by the Shaykh's enemies for performing Sama in A.H. 720, the year when Ghīyās u'd-Dīn TughlaQ ascends the throne. (F.F. Or 1806, f.125a.)



him for his inability to return the bribe of Khusraw Khan to the public treasury, and this strained feeling grew more tense when prince Muḥammad Janna became a great

admirer and disciple of the Shaykh. It is narrated by

Ibn Baṭūṭa how on one occasion the Shaykh in a state of (1) ecstasy said to the prince "We give you the Kingdom".

These reports of the prince's association with the King must have been carried to the Sultan and inflamed his

wrath. While the emperor was returning from his Bengal expedition, he issued an order asking the Shaykh to quit

Delhi before his entry into the capital. The Shaykh is said to have replied to this message "(Hanúz Delhi Dūr (2)

ast)" "Delhi is still far off." It so happened that

the King was killed by the collapse of a new pavilion

built for his reception at Afghánpúr near TughlaQábád, (3)

and he could not return to the capital. The death of

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1. Ibn Baṭūṭa Vol. II, p. 39.

هَبَّأَنَّكَ الْمَلِكُ

2. A.H.G., p.862.

3. Baraní, p. 452. Some of the historians suspect that the fall of the pavilion was designed by Muḥammad TughlaQ. Badáúní and Nizám u'd-Dín accuse Baraní for the suppression of this fact which he did not mention for fear of Firúz-Sháh's displeasure. But Ibn Baṭūṭa (Vol. II, pp.39-40) states on



the King is popularly ascribed to the displeasure of the saint and his reply on this occasion is still used as a proverb in India. <sup>(1)</sup> The Awliya' also died a short time

3.(Continued). the authority of an eye witness Shaykh Rnkn u'd-Dín that the pavilion was constructed with materials of timber by Ahmad Ayáz the Inspector of buildings in such a way that it would collapse at any moment if elephants were allowed to trok on one of its sides. The whole reception was arranged by the prince and as soon as the elephants were brought for display, the entire building fell on the King and thus compassed his death. This account of Ibn-Batá'la confirms the suspicions of Badaúní and Nizám. Besides this we find that Ayáz was elevated from the position of an Inspector of buildings to that of the minister as soon as prince Muhammad became king.

1. Prof. Habíb in his life of Amír Khusraw is inclined to disbelieve the story of the strained relationship between the Shaykh and the Sultan Ghiyás u'd-Dín. He calls it a later-day fabrication. But from the facts and narrative of Ibn-Batúṭah stated above it appears that there were sufficient reasons for the existence of strained relationship between them.

The Glossary of the Tribes and castes of the



before the death of Ghiyás u'd-Dín, on Wednesday, the  
 (1)  
 17th of Rabí' II, A.H. 725 (A.D. 1325).

After the death of Nizám u'd-Dín Awliya, we do not hear anything further of Hasan's activities. His biographers have nothing to say on this period of his life except that at the time of the transference of the capital from Delhi he was forced by Sultan Muhammad Tughlaq to migrate to Dawlatábád, where he died. It is quite probable that during this period of his old age he was leading a life of devotion in complete seclusion from the troubles of the world; And as he led the life  
 (2)  
 of a bachelor he left no issue to continue his lineage.

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1.(Continued)           punjab (Vol. I, pp. 492-93) wrongly attributes this unhappy incident to Emperor Jalál u'd-Dín Khaljí. It was not Nizám u'd-Dín but Sídí Mawla with whom Jalál u'd-Dín had some unpleasant relation. (Vide Baraní, pp. 208-212).

1. S.A., Or, 215, f. 158.
  2. S.Ar., Or, 213, f. 22b.
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## CHAPTER II

The only heritage he has left to the world consists of his melodious lyrics, of which the poet himself says:-

(1)

Amir Hasan was the author of a number of Maghazis and other prose works. (1)  
 از حسن اوصاف قوبان یادگار

(2)

"Every person leaves behind him a store of silver and gold  
 Hasan leaves behind him the description of the lovely ones."

works are his Diván and the prose book known as the  
 Fava'id u'l-Fa'id. He is also said to have written another  
 prose work entitled Siyar ul-Awliya (Lives of saints), and  
 Taqi Kadhí ascribes to him a commentary on some of the  
 Qasidas of Kháqani. (3)

The only Diván known to us was com-  
 piled by him when he was sixty three years of age, and  
 contains only that portion of his work that was written  
 during the thirty years, (4)  
 preceding 714 A.H. (A.D. 1314),

the date of its completion. The works produced during  
 a period of another twenty years of his life, except for  
 a small piece of prose, Margiya, written on the death of

1. Barani, p. 260.

1. D.H., I.O.L., f. 155b.

2. Firishta, Vol. I, p. 214.; J.B.U., p. 712.

3. E.A.Z.A., I.O.L. No. 667, f. 541a.

4. D.H., I.O.L., f. 2a.



## CHAPTER II

Khān-i-Shahīd, the HIS WORKS of Balban, have not come down to us. His extant works also fail to throw light on

nature of HIS EXTANT WORKS. According to Zīā Baranī (1)

Amīr Hasan was the author of several Dívāns and a number of Maṣnavīs and other prose works. This statement has also been affirmed by several of the biographers and

historians of the later period. (2) But none of them give definitely the exact number of his works. The extant

works are his Dívān and the prose book known as the Favá'id u'l-Fuád. He is also said to have written another

prose work entitled Siyar u'l-Awliyá (lives of saints), and TaQí Káshí ascribes to him a commentary on some of the

Qaṣídas of KháQaní. (3) The only Dívān known to us was compiled by him when he was sixty three years of age, and

contains only that portion of his work that was written

during the thirty years, (4) preceding 714 A.H. (A.D. 1314),

the date of its completion. The works produced during

a period of another twenty years of his life, except for

a small piece of prose, Marṣiya, written on the death of

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1. Baranī, p. 360.

2. Firishta, Vol. I, p. 214.; J.N.U., p. 712.

3. K.A.Z.A., I.O.L. No. 667, f. 541a.

4. D.H., I.O.L., f. 2a.



Khán-i-Shahíd, the eldest son of Balban, have not come down to us. His extant works also fail to throw light on the nature of his earlier compositions. The Díván in its present form also might have been lost to us, since the poet himself says that he had no intention of collecting these poems until he was persuaded to undertake it by the insistence of his friends and associates. (1)

Add. There are eighteen known manuscripts of the Díván of Hasan, preserved in the various libraries of Europe and the East. Four are in the Bodleian library, Oxford; five in the library of the India Office; two in the British Museum; and one in each of the libraries of Manchester, St. Petersburg, Munich, Berlin, Gotha, Bankipour<sup>1</sup> and Dwdh. No attempt to publish the manuscripts has ever been made either in the East or in the West, except that Nathaniel Bland has published ten select Ghazals of Hasan in his "Century of Persian Ghazals" in A.D. 1851. I give below a chronological table of the manuscripts in order to facilitate reference to various libraries and to give guidance in the compilation of a standard text on a scientific basis in the future.

1. Ibid. D. H., J. O. L., f. 2<sup>a</sup>.



| No. | Catalogue mark of the MSS.               | Date        |             |
|-----|--|-------------|-------------|
|     |  | <u>A.H.</u> | <u>A.D.</u> |
| 1.  | Elliot 121, Bodl. Lib., Oxford           | 839         | = 1435      |
| 2.  | Ouseley 122, Bodl. Lib., Oxford          | 862         | = 1458      |
| 3.  | Ryland Library pers. MSS.855, Manchester | 913         | = 1507      |
| 4.  | Or. 10918, Br. Museum                    | 919         | = 1513      |
| 5.  | Add. 24952, Br. Museum                   | 922         | = 1526      |
| 6.  | J. Aumor, Cat. pers. MSS.66, Munich      | 941         | = 1534      |
| 7.  | I.O.L., No. 1223                         | 943         | = 1536      |
| 8.  | Bankipore Public Library, No. 132        | 1025        | = 1616      |
| 9.  | Thurston 15, Bodl. Lib., Oxford          | 1033        | = 1623      |
| 10. | Berlin Cat. pers. MSS. No.836            | 1056        | = 1646      |
| 11. | Elliot 57, Bodl. Lib., Oxford            | -           | -           |
| 12. | I.O.L., No. 1224                         | -           | -           |
| 13. | I.O.L., No. 1225                         | -           | -           |
| 14. | I.O.L., No. 1226                         | -           | -           |
| 15. | I.O.L., No. 1227                         | -           | -           |
| 16. | St. Petersburg Public Library, No.CD.    | -           | -           |
| 17. | Gotha pers. MSS. No. 43-44               | -           | -           |
| 18. | Sprenger, Oudh cat. No. 247              | -           | -           |



Ghazals Of all the MSS. referred to in the above table the Bodleian Library possesses two of the earliest copies yet discovered. But of these two, the earliest one is (1) defective and incomplete. (2) The other copy, which is about twenty three years younger than the preceding one, contains the largest collection of verses that has ever been met with in any copy of the Díván. Besides the Qasídas, Ghazals, Qitās, Rubá'ís and a few short Maṣnavís found in almost all the existing copies, it has a romantic Maṣnaví called Hikáyat-i- 'Áshiq-i-Nághí, a pleasing love-poem which will be discussed later. Among the other MSS, the British Museum, India Office and the Bankipore copies contain the largest collection of poems, corresponding almost to the Bodleian copy with a slight variation in the order of arrangement.

CONTENTS OF THE DÍVÁN. A comparison of the available copies of the Díván shows that it consists of a little over ten thousand couplets containing Qasídas,

- 
1. Elliot 121, 38dl. Library.
  2. Ouseley 121, 38dl. Library.
- The description given in the catalogue of the Library. This copy was transcribed in A.H. 1010 = A.D. 1601 for Shaykh Faríd Bukhārí, a general



Ghazals, Qit'as Rubá'is, Maḡnavís and Hikáyat. Let us now consider the different forms of his poetry.

CASÍDAS. In most versions the Díván opens with a Qasida in praise of God with the following initial

verse:- Qasida the poet gives three reasons for calling it a Khamsín; it was composed in the fiftieth year of his life, it contains the names of fifty holy men through whose intercession he supplicates for favour from God. After "O, Lord of the universe, and the wise Judge of the world, this Qasida begins the usual Qasida with the initial verse: Everything is a creation and Thou are the eternal source."

But the copy of the Bankipore Díván opens with a Qasida called Khamsín, which is not to be found in other copies.

(1)

It begins with the couplet:-

ای بصف صنع تو پویان شده چرخ برین  
ان کوه جز داغ تسلیمت ندارد بر جبین

1. C.P.B., Vol. I, p. 197. I have not been able to

procure a copy of this Díván in England, so I had to rely on the copy of Akbar. In the second hemistich of the couplet quoted above the word "و" is transcribed in the catalogue of the Library. This copy was transcribed in the catalogue as "و". But the word "و" gives no sense as A.H. 1010 = A.D. 1601 for Shaykh Faríd Bukhárí, a general I read it as "و" which I think is a better reading.

P.T.O.



"O, Thou, in the line of Thy handiwork revolves the  
crystalline sphere,  
This globe possesses on its brow nothing but a brand  
of submission to Thee."

In this Qaṣīda the poet gives three reasons for calling it a Khamsīn; it consists of fifty verses; it was composed in the fiftieth year of his age; and thirdly it contains the names of fifty holy men through whose intercession he supplicates for favour from God. After this Qaṣīda begins the usual Qaṣīda with the initial verse mentioned above corresponding with the copies mentioned in Rieu p. 618, Springer Oudh Cat. p. 418; Ethe Bodl. Cat. No. 780-81; I.O.L. No. 1223, and other catalogues.

There are about one hundred Qaṣīdas, one fourth of which are devoted to the praise of God and the prophet, and to moral and religious topics; the rest of the poems with the exception of a very few, are written in honour of Sultan 'Alā'u'd-Dīn Khaljī, the reigning sovereign of the time, and the principal patron of the poet. Four

a short period of five months after the murder of Sultan 'Alā'u'd-Dīn in 695 A.H. = 1295 A.D. (Barani, p. 238).  
1. (Continued) of Akbar. In the second hemistich of the couplet quoted above the word گره is transcribed in the catalogue as گره. But the word گره gives no sense so I read it as گره which I think is a better reading.



Qasidas are addressed to Ulugh Khán, the brother of the Sultan, and one each to prince Khizr Khán and Sultan Rukn u'd-Dín Ibráhím Sháh <sup>(1)</sup> respectively.

These poems deal mainly with the pomp and power of 'Alá' u'd-Dín and the achievements of his reign; in them the monarch is given equal rank with Alexander the great in his campaigns, and is extolled as a champion of orthodoxy in his efforts to suppress heresy. But one of the greatest defects of these poems, if I am allowed to say so, is that they are devoid of any chronological data. The poet speaks of contemporary events, but never assigns any date to them.. The only dates that we come across are the dates of the composition of two of his poems, one in praise of God and the other in praise of <sup>(2)</sup> the prophet, which are assigned to A.H. 703 (A.D.1303), <sup>(3)</sup> and A.H. 707 (A.D. 1307) respectively. These dates

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1. Rukn u'd-Dín Qadr Khán was the youngest son of Sultan Jalál u'd-Dín Khaljí who occupied the throne of Delhi for a short period of five months after the murder of Jalál u'd-Dín in 695 A.H. = 1295 A.D. (Baraní, p. 238).

2. D.H., I.O.L., 1223 f. 3a.

3. Ibid, f. 4b.



one Qaṣída in reply to one of KháQaní's poems, known do not throw any light on the historical events of his time, but simply points to a period of his life when he was engaged in composing these Qaṣídas. To a student of history his Qaṣídas are entirely disappointing.

The style of his Qaṣídas is rather simple and unadorned. The words used are always clear and intelligible to the reader; although he sometimes aspired to attain the fame of KháQaní as he hints in the following verses in one of the Qaṣídas addressed to Ulugh Khán,

(1) روزگار شاه و خان غیرت خاقان آمد  
گفته بنده حسن غیرت خاقانی باد

"The KháQán is jealous of the fortune of the King and of the Khán,

May the poetry of Hasan excite jealousy of KháQaní,"

he has carefully avoided the use of obscure and ambiguous words for which KháQaní is notorious. He wrote one

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1. D.H., Add. 24 952, f. 28a.

1. K.K., pp. 325-23.

2. D.H., 8841. (Ouseley 122), f. 57.



one Qasída in reply to one of KháQaní's poems known

as *مصيدة في التزام العيد في كل بيت* (1)

(Qasída in which the use of the word *Id* has been made in every couplet). The head line of this poem runs:-

*في موسم العيد باسم سلطان الاعظم في مجابات سلطان الشعرا افضل*  
*الدين الخاقاني زيد فيضه* (2)

"On the occasion of 'Id, dedicated to the great King, in answer to the King of poets Afzal u'd-Dín-al-KháQaní (may his excellence increase)".

The poem opens with the verses:-

*ساقياي ده كه مهری كده بكشاد عيد*  
*كرد جانها را بجام شادی افزاد عيد*

"O, Sáqi, give wine because the 'Id has opened the seal

of the tavern,

The festival has made the souls happy with the joy-

increasing cup."

the sky,

Whatever befalls us is from Divine source and will."

1. D.H., I.O.L., f. 5a.

1. K.K., pp. 325-29.

2. D.H., 80d1. (Oksely 122), f. 57.



WHEREIN HASAN DIFFERS FROM OTHER PANEGYRISTS.

Hasan differs from most of the other Persian panegyrists in that he never employs mean and despicable methods to extort money, or has recourse to satire when panegyric fails. He was always satisfied with his lot and would give thanks to his patron for whatever reward he had received. Submission to the will of God was the main principle of his life as he declares in one of his Qasidas:-

(1) +

در روزی چون آسمان دارد  
 بر درِ عمر و زید چون گزرم  
 چه شکایت کنم ز دور ندک  
 هر چه هست از قضا و از قدرم

"When the door of my sustenance is in heaven,  
 Why should I go to the door of 'Umar and Zayd. ×  
 What complaint shall I make against the revolution of  
 the sky,  
 Whatever befalls me is from Divine decree and will."

1. D.H., I.O.L., f. 6a.

~~2. F.F., op. 1806, f. 186a.~~



The general trend of his poems shows that the art of Qasída writing did not appeal to his genius. It is probably due to this reason, more than to anything else, that the number of his Qasídas, in spite of his long service at the court of several Kings, is so small in comparison with the number of his lyrical poems. His dislike for this type of poem is also to a certain extent due to the influence of his spiritual guide who used to detest panegyrics and considered the use of high-sounding laudatory terms as an abuse of poetic genius.

(1)

The subject of a Ghazal is generally erotic and mystical, and seldom exceeds a dozen couplets, whereas a Qasída may be a panegyric, or a satire, or it may be didactic, philosophical or religious, often extending to more than a hundred couplets. A Qasída generally begins with the description of a beautiful object<sup>of</sup> the poet's beloved, which is technically called 'Tashbīb' or Exordium, and then the poet introduces his Mawduh (the object of praise) and enters into the Madiha or panegyric proper. The Tashbīb is the basis principle of a Ghazal. This element of the beautiful has been transferred to

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1. F.F., or. 1806, g. 126a.



GHAZALS. There are nearly eight hundred Ghazals written by Hasan, each consisting of not less than five and not more than twelve couplets. The reputation of the poet rests mainly on these poems and he is considered as one of the earliest masters of this form of poetry.

DEVELOPMENT OF GHAZAL BEFORE HASAN. The Ghazal or the love poems of Persia, may be said to be an offshoot of the Qasída or panegyrics, which form the beginning of persian poetry. The main differences between these two forms of verse are in the subject matter and in the length of the poem. The subject of a Ghazal is generally erotic and mystical, and seldom exceeds a dozen couplets, whereas a Qasída may be a panegyric, or a satire, or it may be didactic, philosophical or religious, often extending to more than a hundred couplets. A Qasída generally begins with the description of a beautiful object of the poet's beloved, which is technically called 'Tashbīb' or Exordium, and then the poet introduces his Mamdúh (the object of praise) and enters into the Madiha or panegyric proper. The Tashbīb is the basic principle of a Ghazal. This element of the beautiful has been transferred to

Ghazal and it became the chief feature of this form of  
with a translation by Prof. Nicholson of Cambridge.



of poetry. In a Qaṣída the poet praises the liberality, the pomp, the power, and the justice of his patron, whereas in a Ghazal he describes the beauty, the coquetry, the oppression, and the tyranny of his beloved. In the early stage of its development there was <sup>no</sup> appreciable improvement; it lacked that enthusiasm and emotion which we find in the works of the later poets. For a long time in Persia the composition of Qaṣídas was considered to be the best accomplishment of a poet, and it was the only means of gaining favour and honour at the royal courts. Consequently the poets had to devote all their attentions and energies to the composition of this form of poetry, and the writing of Ghazal was neglected.

It is with the growth of Ṣúfism that a distinct improvement was made in the composition of Ghazal. The element of love, being one of the fundamental principles of this system of mystic philosophy, had found its best vehicle of expression in the medium of lyric poetry.

The Díván-i-Shams-i-Tab<sup>(1)</sup>riz of Mawláná Jalál u'd-Dín-Rúmi is one of the best examples of mystic lyrics that has ever been written in Persian. Hakím Saná'í,

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1. An excellent selection of this Díván has been published with a translation by Prof. Nicholson of Cambridge.



Awḥadī-Marághí, Faríd u'd-Din 'Aṭṭār, and 'Iraqí, had also made their contribution towards the development of mystic poetry. But the Ghazals written by them were smaller than their other forms of poetry, and the love that they extolled was divine rather than human.

The Mongol invasion of Persia with the destruction of the Caliphate, which is considered as the great turning point in the history of Islamic civilization, brought about a great change in the sphere of Persian literature and culture. From this time we find a different trend of thought in Persian poetry. The enthusiasm which the poets displayed in the composition of Qasidas celebrating the power and conquests of Persian monarchs has received a great set back and we do not find eminent Qasida writers in the post-Mongol period worthy of being compared to those of pre-Mongol days. The poetry produced during this period generally contained a certain mournful and melancholy strain, as if something of vital importance had been missing from the soul of the nation, which it always yearns to regain. The expression of this mental agony revealed itself in lyrical poetry, and produced some of the greatest masters of poetic art, of whom Persia to be a contemporary of Sa'di, as the latter lived up to A.H. 691-1291, when Rumi was of forty years old.



has ever been able to boast. The Ghazal has received the greatest attention from the Persian singers and a remarkable development has since been made.

Sadī is the fore-runner of this movement. After him come Ḥasan, Khusrāw, Salmān, Khvājū and Ḥāfiz, in whom the Persian Ghazal has reached its highest perfection. Each of these poets had been greatly influenced by Sadī and they recognised him as a great master of lyrical poetry, and Ḥāfiz has said:-

استاد غزل سعدیست پیش همه کس اما (1)  
دارد سخن حافظ طرز و روشی نوابو

"Before all persons Sadī is the master of Ghazal but, The poetry of Ḥāfiz has the style and manner of Khvājū."

INFLUENCE OF SA'DÍ ON HASAN. The Ghazals of Hasan were greatly influenced by the works of Sadī in their style and thought. It is due to this similarity of ideas and diction in these two poets, that Hasan was called by his contemporaries the Sa'dí of Hindustán. (2)

1. S.N., Vol. V, p. 38.

2. Baranī, p. 360. ; In one sense Ḥasan may be said to be a contemporary of Sadī, as the latter lived up to A.H. 691= 1291, when Ḥasan was of forty years old.



Sometimes we come across parallel passages conveying an idea common to both but expressed in different forms.

I quote here a few of these verses:-

Sa'di:-

(1)  
بدم گفتمی و فرسندم عفاک الله بگو گفتمی  
سگم خواندی و خوشنودم جزاک الله کرم کردی

"Thou didst speak me ill and I am content: God pardon thee, thou didst speak well!

Thou didst call me a dog, and I acquiesced: God reward thee thou didst confer on me a favour!"

Hasan:-

(2)  
گر سگی کوی خودم خواند شبی  
والله آن شب روز بازار هست

"If for a night she calls me a dog of her lane

By God that night would be my brisk market".

1. Tayyibát, Bib. Ind., p. 469. The first verse of this couplet is also used by Háfiz as a Taẓmín in one of his poems (Vide D.H.B., ode No. 8).

2. D.H., I.O.L., f. 996. I of this couplet.

3. D.H., I.O.L., f. 14.



Sa'di:-

دوستان عیب کنندم که چرا دل بتو دادم (1)  
باید اول بتو گفتی که چنین خوب چرا می

Rumi:-

"My friends <sup>blame</sup> ~~prevent~~ me <sup>for</sup> ~~from~~ yielding my heart to thee,  
Thou shouldst be questioned first "Why are thou so  
lo~~z~~ely?"

Hasan:-

I may unfold (to all) the tale of my life. (2)  
گفتی که حسن دلت که از رد  
از غمزه پیرس من چه دانم

"Thou hast asked, 'Hasan! who afflicts thy heart?'  
What do I know, ask thy amorous glance."

INFLUENCE OF JALÁL U'D-DÍN RÚMÍ. In these  
mystical odes of Hasan we find some influence of the  
works of Jalál u'd-Dín Rúmí. The poet has not made  
any direct acknowledgement of his indebtedness to this

1. Ṭayyibát, Bib. Ind. p. 464. + Most texts give منع  
instead of عیب in verse I of this couplet.

2. D.H., I.O.L., f. 14.

2. D.H., I.O.L., f. 90a.

3. Diván-i-Shamsi-Tabriz Ed. Nicholson, p. 2.



great Persian<sup>mystic</sup>, but from a careful search we find some of the ideas of Rûmî to have been expressed by Hasan in a different form. I give here the following parallel passages:-

Rûmî:-

(1)  
سینه فواهم شرحه شرحه از فراق  
تا بگویم شرح درد اشتیاق

"I want a heart torn to pieces by separation  
So that I may unfold (to it) the pain of love-desire."

Hasan:-

(2)  
هر دل که چون چراغ نمی سوزد از فراق  
او را چه روشن است که سوز فراق چیست

"The heart that is not burning like a lamp by separation  
How can it understand the burning (pangs) of severance."

Rûmî:-

(3)  
اگر تو عاشق عشقی و عشق را جويا  
بگیر خنجر تیز و بر سر گلوی حیا

1. Masnavî, G.M.S., Bk. I, p. 3.

2. D.H., I.O.L., f. 90a.

3. Divân -i-Shamsi- Tabrîz Ed. Nicholson, p. 2.



لیلیٰ ابن حسن خندید و گفت  
 با تو چه گویم که تو بخون نه

"If thou art Love's lover and seekest love  
 Take a keen poniard and cut the throat of bashfulness."

Hasan:- laughed at this and said

بسیغ عشق شو کشته حسن وار (1)  
 اگر تو خواهی بقای جاودانی

"Get thyself killed like Hasan, with the sword of Love,  
 If thou desirest eternal permanence."

Rúmi:-

گفت لیلیٰ را خلیفه کان تو (2)  
 کنز تو بخون شد بریشان و غوی  
 از دگر خوبان تو افزن نیستی  
 گفت حاشش چون تو بخون نیستی

"The Caliph said to Laylá: 'Art thou she  
 By whom Majnún was distracted and <sup>led</sup> astray?  
 Thou art not superior to other fair ones.'

'Be silent' she replied 'Since thou art not Majnún'

Hasan:-

مدعی گفت بلیلیٰ بطعن (3)  
 رو که چنان چابک و موزون نه

1. D.H., I.O.L., f. 217b.

2. Maṣnaví, G.M.S., Text, Book I, p. 26 and Nicholson's  
 translation, p. 25.

3. D.H., I.O.L., f. 208b.



لیلیٰ ازین حرف بخندید و گفت  
 با تو چه گویم که تو مخنون نه

"A boaster said to Laylá in reproach

'Go, thou art not so nimble and graceful'

Laylá laughed at this and said

'What shall I tell thee, since thou art not Majnún.'

#### INFLUENCE OF HASAN ON HIS SUCCESSORS. Among

the successors of Hasan in the field of persian poetry,

we find two who are imitators of his style, One is

(1)

Kamál of Khujand and the other Zamírí of Ispahán.

The former is accused by some critics as a plagiarist

of Hasan. Jámí says: "Kamál imitates Hasan Dihlaví,

but his poems contain more of mystical ideas than those of

Hasan. On account of this imitation, he was called a

(2)

plagiarist of Hasan." The charge of plagiarism made

1. His full name is Kamál u'd-Din b Mas'úd. He was a

great saint and a mystic poet of the latter part of the

8th century of the Híjra. The Jalá'irí Sultan Husayn bin-

Uways (776-784 = 1374-82) showed him much favour and

built for him a monastery. He is said to have died in

A.H. 803 = A.D. 1400-1. (Vide J.N.U., pp. 712-13, Bahá-

L.H.P., Vol. III, pp. 320-30). Mirza Sharaf Jahán of Qazvin,

2. Baháristán, p. 100.

or. 4610, f. 259).



against him by his critics is rather too severe. A  
 comparison of his Díván<sup>(1)</sup> with that of Hasan does not  
 reveal any serious evidence to substantiate it. The  
 style and language of Kamál shows clearly the influence  
 of Hasan, but the two poets differ a great deal in their  
 thoughts and ideas. Kamál is more of a mystic than  
 Hasan.<sup>(2)</sup> Zamírí, whose full name is Kamál u'd-Dín -

1. Add. 19,496.

2. This poet was a prolific writer. He is the author  
 of six Maṣnavís viz, Názva-Niyáz, Ḥasna' u'l-Akḥbár,  
 VamiQ-va-'Azrá, Laylá-Majnún, Bahár-va-Khazán and Iskandar.  
 Námah, and of seven Díváns of Ghazals viz, 'IshQ-i-Bízavál,  
 Kanz u'l-AQwál, Surat-i-Hal-i-Safína-i-Iqbál, SaiQal-i-  
 Malál, 'Uzr-i-MaQál, Quds-i-Khiyál; four other Díváns in  
 imitation of Sa'dí's Ṭayyibát, Badá'í, Khvátim, and Ghazliyat,  
 viz Badaít-u's-Shír, Saná'-i-Ṭahirát, Niháyat-u's-Sihr;  
 and another Díván called 'Ayún u'l-Zulál; and of thirteen  
 similar Díváns in imitation of those of Bába Fighání,  
 Jámí, Lisání, Sháhí of Sabzvár, Baná-i-of-Herát, Bába-  
 Shahídí of Qum, Amír Humáyun, Mírza Sharaf Jahán of Qazvín,  
 Kamál Khujandí, Amír Khusraw and Amír Hasan. (vide M.G.  
 or. 4610, f. 259).

may be applied only to two of the Indo-Persian poets -



Ḥusayn, flourished in the court of Sháh Ṭahmásp (reigned A.H. 930 - 984 = 1524-76) the Ṣafaví King. He has composed a Díván consisting of Ghazals in imitation of Ḥasan under the title of Ḥasan Ma'ál (حسن مآل). The author of the Makhzan u'l-Ghará'ib and the Atish-Kadaḥ speak very highly of his abilities as a poet of original and imitative composition. He is also said to have been highly proficient in the art of necromancy.

INFLUENCE OF ḤASAN ON ḤAFÍZ. In the poetry of Ḥafíz also we find some influence of Ḥasan; but Ḥafíz has made no direct acknowledgement of any indebtedness to Ḥasan. On the other hand he says that his poetry bears resemblance to the style and diction of Khvájú of Kirmán. The only reference that he makes of Indo-persian poets is to be found in the following verses sent to Sultan Ghiyáṣ ud-Dín of Bengal:-

(1) شکر شکن شوند همه طوطیان هند  
زین قند پارسى كه به بنگاله مىرود

"All the parrots of India become sugar-breakers  
Through this persian candy which is going to Bengal."

The word Ṭutí-i-Hind or the parrot of India may be applied only to two of the Indo-persian poets -



Hasan and his contemporary Khusraw. Jámí has referred  
(1)  
to them in the same way in the following verses:-

آن دو طوطی که بنوغبزی شان  
بود در هند شکر ریزی شان  
عاقبت سخره افلاک شدند  
خامشان قفس خاک شدند

"Those two parrots with tender growth,  
Who filled Hindustán with sugar,  
Became at last a mark for the arrow of the sky,  
And were silenced and imprisoned in the cage of earth."

Hasan also styles himself a parrot of eloquence  
(2)  
in one of his odes in the following verses:-

مرا که طوطی باغ بلاغت است لقب  
شدم ز مائده شکر شاه شکر چین

"I, who possess the title of 'the parrot of the garden  
of eloquence'

Have become a pecker of sugar at the <sup>sweet</sup> table of the King."

(3) *Baḥār*:-

1. *Baḥār*, vol I p. 201  
D.H., I.O.L., f. 42b.

2. *Ibid*, f. 202  
D.H., I.O.L., f. 42b.

(1) *Baḥār*, I.O.L., f. 794.

(2) *Baḥār*, f. 794.

(3) *Baḥār*, f. 794.



(1)

In another place he says:-

کنون مبارک بادت هوای هندوستان  
که طویان را آموختی شکر خوردن

"Now may the atmosphere of India be auspicious to thee,  
As thou has taught the parrots to peck sugar."

The reference of Hāfiz to the parrots of India indubitably shows that he was familiar with the works of these great Indo-persian poets and particularly with the Ghazals of Hasan, which exerted a certain influence on his poetry. I quote below some of the parallel passages which are to be found in their Dívāns:-

I. (1) Hasan:-

رخ تو آفت شهر آمد و آشوب سپاه  
قصه ما و تو شهری و سپاهی دانت

Thy face became the calamity of the city and torment of  
the army

Our story became known to the citizen and the soldier."

(2) Hāfiz:-

نغان کین لولیان شوخ شیرین کار شهر آشوب  
چنان بردند صبر از دل که ترکان خوان بغا را

(1). D.H., I.O.L., f. 70b202.

(2). Ibid, f. 796.

(3) D. H. B., No 8.



"Alas! these saucy dainty ones, sweet of work, the torment  
of the city,

Take patience from the heart just as the men of Turkistán  
take the tray of plunder."

II. Hasan:-

بیاساقی هنوز آهنگی چیست (1)  
که اندر گل بخندید و بگریست

"Come SáQí, What is this hesitation?

Because the rose smiled and wept."

Háfiz:-

خوشتر ز عیش و صحبت باغ و بهار چیست (2)  
ساقی کجاست گو سبب انتظار چیست

What is there more pleasant than the enjoyment of the  
garden and the spring,

Where is the SáQí? say what's the cause of waiting?"

III. Hasan:-

اگر ساقی تو خواهی بود ما را (3)  
که می گوید که می خوردن حرام است

1. D.H., I.O.L., f. 89.

3. D.H., I.O.L., f. 98a.

2. D.H. B. Br. M., <sup>no. 55</sup> f. 113.



"If thou becomest our SáQí,

Who says that drinking is unlawful?"

Háfiz:-

(1)

در مذهب ما باده حلال است ولیکن  
بی روی تو ای سرو گل اندام حرام است

"Wine is lawful in our creed but

Without thy face, on rose bodied cypress, it is unlawful."

IV. Hasan:-

(2) روی که تراست مه ندارد + نقصان بتو هیچ ره ندارد  
این کوکبه که هم تو داری + فورشید نداشت مه ندارد

"The moon hath not a face like thee,

To thee there is no decline,

The splendour which thou hast

Neither the sun nor the moon doth possess."

Háfiz:-

(3) روشنی طلعت تو ماه ندارد + پیش تو گل رونق گپاه ندارد  
گوشه ابروی تست منزل جانم + خوشتر ازین گوشه پادشاه ندارد

1. D.H.B., No. <sup>34</sup> 55.

2. D.H.B., No. <sup>Add. 24952. f. 113</sup> 34.

3. D.H.B., No. 171.

1. D.H., I.O.B., f. 83.

2. D.H.B., No. 60.



"The moon hath not the brightness of thy face,  
 In thy presence the rose hath not (even) the  
 splendour of the grass,  
 The corner of thy eyebrow is the dwelling of my soul,  
 The King hath not a happier corner than this."

V. Hasan:- is he who purchased a loan and let go the

(1)  
 چه رویت آن که گوی نو بهار است  
 غلط کردم بهشتی روزگار است  
 بنقد امروز با او در بهشت  
 مرا بآنسیه فردا چه کار است

"What is that face? thou wouldst say that it is the new  
 spring,

I am wrong, it is the paradise of the world.

Today in cash I am in paradise with her.

What use have I for the credit of the <sup>مؤمنان</sup> Amenon."

Háfiz:-

(2)  
 اکنون که می دمد از بوستان نسیم بهشت  
 من و شراب فرح بخش و یار جور سر بهشت  
 بچمن حکایت ابدی بهشت می گوید  
 نه عارفست که نسیمه خرید و نقد بهشت



SHAZALS OF HASAN SUFI

"Now that the breeze of paradise bloweth from the

rose garden

I and the joygiving wine and the Hour<sup>beloved</sup>i natured (are

together)

The sword uttereth the tale of the month of spring

No gnostic is he who purchased a loan and let go the

cash."

Shaykh, a grandson of the great Sufi saint, was called upon

to write a manual of the Sema. Add. 27,251.

Add. 27,251.

(2) Anthology (10th century A.H.) belonging to

a Turkish noble named Khalid Bag. Add. 7824.

(3) Anonymous anthology (10th century A.H.)

or 1223.

(4) Anonymous anthology (1200 A.H.) Add. 19,494.

(5) Anonymous anthology (10th century A.H.)

Add. 7796.

(6) Anthology (A.H. 1183) prepared by Mirza

Abdul Qadir. Add. 15,303.

Besides these there are four other undated  
anthologies in the Berlin Library of Persian MSS.



(No. 53. GHAZALS OF HASAN QUOTED IN DIFFERENT ANTHOLOGIES.

Besides the poetical extracts quoted by the biographers, we find that his Ghazals have been profusely quoted in a number of anthologies. A list of those, available in the libraries of Great Britain, is given below :

(1) An anthology of mixed contents (A.H. 813)

prepared for Jalál u'd-Dín Iskandar B'Umar-

Shaykh, a grandson of Tímúr who ruled over

Fars as a vassal of his uncle Sháh Rukh.

Add. 27,261.

(2) Anthology (10th century A.H.) belonging to

a Turkish noble named Khálid Bég. Add.7824.

(3) Anonymous anthology (10th century A.H.)

or.1228.

(4) Anonymous anthology (1200 A.H.) Add.19,494.

(5) Anonymous anthology (10th century A.H.)

Add.7796.

(6) Anthology (A.H.1153) prepared by Mírza

'Abdul Qádir Bídíl. Add.16,803.

Besides these there are four other undated anthologies in the Berlin Library of Persian MSS.,

1. Bayán, Add. 16,803 ff.375-78.

2. D.H.B. No.472.

\* Some texts read as follows



(No.58, 83, 681, 685) which cite a number of his poems.

The poems cited in these anthologies correspond to the Ghazals contained in the Bodleian, the British Museum and the India office copies of his *Díván*. These anthologies except that of *Mírza Bídíl*, do not add to our knowledge of his poems. *Mírza Bídíl* ascribes one Mukhammas or <sup>24</sup>Fis̄some (1) poem to *Hasan*. But it seems that this poem has been wrongly attributed to him. According to the rules of Persian prosody very often the basis of this type of poem is a Ghazal of some other poet, to each couplet of which three more "misrás" or half verses are added to make a Mukhammas. Now this poem of doubtful authenticity is based on a Ghazal of *Háfiz* which opens with the verse :

(1)  
 تاب بنفشه میدهد طرّه مشکای تو  
 پرده غنچه میدرد عارض دلکشای تو

(2)  
*Hasan* being a predecessor of *Háfiz* could not possibly have utilised his Ghazal as a basis of this Mukhammas. So *Mírza Bídíl* is fundamentally wrong in ascribing this poem to *Hasan*. It must have been written by some other person who was either a contemporary or successor of *Háfiz*.

1. Bayáz, Add. 16,803 ff.375-76.

2. D.H.B. No.472.

+ Some texts read as 'خنه'



STYLE OF HIS GHAZALS.

The special features of Hasan's style consist in its simplicity and a natural flow of language, combined with sweet and harmonious rhythm. The metres employed, are invariably short and attractive to the ear. The words he uses are generally concise and plain, and belong to the everyday, ordinary vocabulary of the people. The entire absence of obscure metaphors and far-fetched images has made his poems very popular among his contemporaries. Both contemporary and later-day critics are unanimous in praise of the beauty of his style and diction. I quote here the opinion of two of the critics of two different periods. One is Zia Baraní, who says "He was an accomplished master in the simplicity of style and flow of diction, and as he has composed many a mystic ode in a flowing style, he is called the Sa'dí of Hindustán." (1) The other is Jámí, a great mystic poet and a biographer of the fifteenth century A.D., who speaks of Hasan's style in the following words : (2) "His Ghazals have some

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1. Baraní, p.360.

2. Baháristán, p.101.

Devoth

Faith

Demon

Light

Sinner

Infidelity

Angel

Darkness, Veiled



distinctive features; he was very particular in the choice of metres and rhymes, which are the peculiar beauty of his poetry. This careful selection gives his poems a special colouring, so much indeed that they appear to be very simple, while actually they require much art and labour to compose. Therefore people have called his poetry easy but difficult to compose."

THE COMMON FIGURES OF SPEECH. The figures of speech used by Hasan are generally simple and intelligible to his readers without much difficulty. He mostly uses the figure known as Tazádd or Antithesis. Other figures of speech occur, but their number is comparatively small. I give below a specimen list of the common rhetorical figures that are met with :

(1) (Tazádd). This is a figure in which the the writer uses two or more contrary terms.

|         |          |         |                  |
|---------|----------|---------|------------------|
| درد -   | pain     | درمان - | Remedy           |
| فرد -   | Low      | بالا -  | High             |
| موم -   | Wax      | آتش -   | Fire             |
| زاهد -  | Devotion | فاسق -  | Sinner           |
| ایمان - | Faith    | کفر -   | Infidelity       |
| دیو -   | Demon    | فرشته - | Angel            |
| شمع -   | Light    | مجبوب - | Darkness, Veiled |



|                            |                         |
|----------------------------|-------------------------|
| غم - Pain                  | شادی - Pleasure         |
| بهار - Spring              | فصل - Autumn            |
| <del>pre-destination</del> | <del>Free will</del>    |
| مراد - Desire              | نامراد - Disappointment |

(ii) (Murá'át-i-Nazír) where the writer  
uses correlative terms :

|                       |                         |
|-----------------------|-------------------------|
| گوهر - Jewels         | كان - mine              |
| رفت - Chattels        | دكان - shop             |
| سبزه - Verdure        | بهار - spring           |
| چوگان - polostick     | گول - Ball              |
| ستاره - star          | افتاب - sun             |
| خضر - Khizr           | آب حیات - water of life |
| مُصلی - one who prays | مُصلی - prayer carpet   |
| مستی - intoxication   | خمار - crop sickness    |
| زخم - wound           | دُغ - scar              |
| مقصود - destination   | راه - way               |
| تاب - heat            | افتاب - sun             |

(iii) (Tajnis-i-NáQis). The writer uses two  
words different in meaning but similar in orthography -

e.g.

|                      |
|----------------------|
| درد - pain           |
| دُرد - dregs of wine |
| در - door            |
| دُر - pearl          |



(iv) (Tajnis-i-Muzayyal) The writer uses two words different in meaning, similar in form, except for the addition of one letter at the end :

چشم - eye

چشمه - fountain

مهر - seal

مهره - antidote

میان - waist

میان - in the middle.

(1) طریق سبیل مہندار عشق بازی ما  
تجربہ سے ہم عاشقی مجازی بہت

"Think not the way of our love's sport to be easy  
The pangs of the lover are divine, not profane."

(2) ای حسن ساز اہل تحقیق  
گر جو مقام ز اہل تحقیق

"O, Hasan! We belong to the people of Truth  
Although outwardly we are of the despised."

1. D.H. I.O.L., f.104.

2. Ibid, f.141.



ARE THE GHAZALS TO BE INTERPRETED IN SÚFÍSTIC SENSE?

It may be asked whether the odes of Ḥasan are to be taken in a literal or SÚfístic sense. This question does not admit of a general answer. There are a number of odes which may be interpreted in a figurative or allegorical sense, and there are others which may be better understood and appreciated in a literal sense. The number of the latter class is considerably larger than the former. The poet, however, desires us to take the inner meaning of his verses and interpret his love as 'Ishq-i-Ḥaqqíqí or love divine.

He says:

(1) طریق سهل مبیندار عشق بازی ما  
حقیقت است غم عاشقی مجازی نیست

"Think not the way of our love's sport to be easy

The pangs of the love are divine, not profane."

(2) ای حسن ما ز اهل تحقیقیم  
گرچه ظاهر ز اهل تحقیریم

"O, Ḥasan! We belong to the people of Truth

Although outwardly we are of the despised."

1. D.H. I.O.L., f.104.

2. Ibid, f.141.



These are poems, which reveal the poet's leaning towards the súfistic doctrine of Faná-Filláh or the passing of the unreal into the real self in order that it may be re-united with the one infinite Being; these poems, of course, answer directly to the above claim made by the poet. But the erotic ideas which permeate most of his odes, outweigh the element of súfism displayed in others, and a comprehensive survey shows him as an erotic rather than a Súfí poet. It is however, not to be supposed that the erotic poems of Hasan give expression to the cult of a reckless libertine for the gratification of sensual pleasure. They contain high and noble sentiments expressed with appropriate dignity of manner. The poet holds an ideal of beauty before his mental vision and tries to draw a picture of that ideal with the aid of his lively fancy and powerful imagination. The beauty of nature appeals to him most. He holds it up to great admiration and thereby admires the Creator, who is himself the supreme of Beauty

THE POPULARITY OF HIS GHAZALS. The Ghazals of

Hasan gained great popularity, not only among his contemporaries, but also among the poets of the succeeding generations.

His achievement of considerable celebrity during his lifetime

1. D.K., Add. 24, 952, f. 38b.

2. T.S.D., p. 248.



has been referred to by the poet himself in the following verses :

(1) از نظم حسن دیدم شهری شده دیوانه

زیرا که نمی بینند این طرز بدیوانها

"I find the city mad with Hasan's verse

For they find not such elegance in other Díváns."

Besides the testimony of his contemporary scholars (to which I have already referred), we have other evidence from the writings of Persian poets and biographers which points clearly to the popularity of his poems even beyond the land of his birth. The popularity of his works may be best judged from a consideration of the opinions of the Persian critics and of the reception they obtained in Persia, a land where Indo-Persian poetry is seldom appreciated, unless it is of a very high order. Dawlat-Sháh in his memoirs of the Persian poets says (2) "The Díván of Khvāja Hasan is very highly admired in these days; and the men of learning and discernment attach an unlimited esteem to his poetry. As his poems are very well known to

1. D.H., Add.24,952, f.38b. migrated to India during the

2. T.S.D., p.248. He is the author of a Díván in Persia.

(Vide Rîmî-u's-Shu'arâ, Add.16,729, f.315b; and Beale p.140)



the high and the low, I am not going to quote here more than one of his Ghazals." TaQí Káshí, another biographer of the tenth century of the Híjra, says <sup>(1)</sup> "His Dívân is highly honoured and respected, and the men of understanding and good taste place great confidence in his poems. His verses enjoy a great reputation among the people." We find such evidence of the popularity of his poems in Persia even until the reign of Sháh Tahmásp (A.D. 930-34) the Safaví King; and during the reign of this monarch, Zamírí the court poet of the time wrote a Dívân in imitation of Hasan.

Among the Indo-Persian scholars of the later period his Ghazals enjoyed a very great amount of popularity, and they were placed on the same level as those of other great masters of the Persian lyric, Sádí, Khusraw and Háfiz. He was regarded as a past master of persian songs and many a poet would have considered himself fortunate if he could have secured the blessing of his approbation. An instance of such a desire is found in one of the poems of Shaykh - <sup>(2)</sup> Násir u'd-Dín-Gharíb of Delhi :

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1. K.A.Z.A., I.O.L., No.667, f.541a.

2. Gharíb was the poetical name of Shaykh Násir u'd-Dín. He was a native of Khurásán, migrated to India during the reign of Humáyun. He is the author of a Dívân in Persían. (Vide Riyáz-u's-Shu'ará, Add.16,729, f.318b; and Beale p.140)



## CHAPTER OF Khusraw

(1) سرود عیش ز گنبارن کند مطرب

ره سماع ز افشارن زند قوآل

اگر بخارس رود کاروان اشعارم

ردان سعدی و حافظ کند استقبال

و گر به هندی رسد خسرو و حسن گویند

که ای غریب جهان مر حبا تعال تعال

"The minstrel would play the tune of joy with my lay,

The mystic-singer would dance in ecstasy with my verse;

If the Caravan of my poetry were to travel to Persia

The souls of Sa'dí and Háfiz would greet it.

If it reached Hindustán, Khusraw and Hasan would say

O, Gharíb of the World, Hail to thee! Come, come."

of his Ghazal is the presence of a single idea running through the whole poem. As a general rule every couplet in a Ghazal expresses a complete idea, independent of what has gone before or what comes after; but Hasan has often deviated from this convention and we find some of his poems with a single idea running throughout.

1. Khusraw has also written a number of such poems, which

1. Anonymous anthology, Add. 7796, f. 47. II, pp. 182-87.



CHARACTER OF HIS GHAZALS. Hasan's Ghazals

have a certain distinctive feature of their own. His poems are generally pervaded by an emotional frenzy and a burning enthusiasm which are not to be found to the same extent in the writings of his predecessor Sa'dí and his contemporary Khusraw. In the poems of Sa'dí and Khusraw, no doubt, there is an element of high emotion, but when we consider their work as a whole, this element appears very small among the tame and gentle expressions which preponderate in the majority of their poems. Hasan as a lyric poet, excels them both by his greater enthusiasm and his deeper inspiration manifested in vigorous and impressive language. Another distinctive characteristic of his Ghazal is the presence of a single idea running through the whole poem. As a general rule every couplet in a Ghazal expresses a complete idea, independent of what has gone before or what comes after; but Hasan has often deviated from this convention and we find some of his poems with a single idea running throughout.<sup>(1)</sup>

- 
1. Khusraw has also written a number of such poems, which have been cited by Shibdí. (Vide S.N. Vol. II, pp. 162-67).



Now I give below the translation of a few of his poems as specimens of his Ghazals which may reveal the nature of his thought and ideas:-

Marvellous is thy face, and more so thy eyes,  
 Marvellous are thy ruby lips, and more so thy smile.  
 Alas! thou hast astonished me with thy beauty, now  
 Thou hast made a different light in my life than  
 Last year, that blood-harvest, and thy smile  
 This year I find it more beautiful than the last.  
 It is a great marvel to me, of a great dis-  
 position like thine  
 More marvellous it is, to see the bitterness issuing  
 From thy smiling lips.  
 To kill one like Hasan, without any fault of his  
 Is amazing of Heaven and more amazing of the beloved.



I.

II.

(1) شکل عجیب دارن و رفتنار عجیب تر  
 راه من چون طره از رخ برگرفت

Marvellous is thy form, and more marvellous thy gait,  
 Marvellous are thy ruby lips, and more marvellous  
 thy speech.

Alas! thou dost astonish me with thy tyranny, what  
 shall I say?

Thou hast made a different lasso more dangerous than  
 a snake.

Last year, that blood-thirsty lip was marvellously  
 oppressive,

This year I find it more marvellous than the last.

It is a great marvel to see the wrath of a sweet dis-  
 position like thine

More marvellous it is, to see the bitterness issuing  
 out of the sugar scattering ruby lips.

To kill one like Hasan, without any fault of his  
 Is amazing of Heaven and more amazing of the beloved.

oooo O oooo

1. D.H., I.O.L., f. 157b.

1. D.R., I.O.L., f. 88.



## II.

ماه من چون طرّة از رخ برگرفت

(1)

The orchard has no cypress equal to thy form,  
 When my moon removed her locks from her face,  
 The city of Shutan has no musk equal to thy down,  
 The distracted lover renewed his wail.  
 Every petal which blooms as the rose,  
 The minstrel played the tune of her love,  
 Fails to give the scent I find in thee.  
 The screen of safety became raised from her face.  
 To select any in preference to thee  
 A fire was concealed within my heart  
 Is the work of others not of me.  
 Thou hast seen how suddenly it burned at last.  
 I speak through thy lips soon,  
 Although reason placed its foot on the world,  
 No sweeter words can be found than these.  
 The love of the beautiful has ascended one step more.  
 Why art thou vexed at my innocent pranks?  
 Every one dived in the sea of love,  
 A fickle man is beyond self-control.  
 Some sank and some got the pearl.  
 I place my life at the altar of thy image  
 The right path was revealed to the idolator,  
 Without thee, my life is of no avail.  
 He left the idol and clung to the door of the sculptor.  
 Thou didst ask "Why art thou away from me?"  
 In Hasan also I find this trait, because he  
 'Tis not due to Hasan but to Heaven's decree.  
 Gave away his heart and clung to the skirt of his sweet-  
 heart.

oooooooooooo

1. D.H., I.O.L., f. 78b.

1. D.H., I.O.L., f. 86.



## III.

سر دی جو قد تو در بہمن بہست

(1)

ای جان ز بہت دورم دورم ز بہت ای جان

(1)

The orchard has no cypress equal to thy form,  
 The city of Khutan has no musk equal to thy down.  
 Every petal which blooms on the rose,  
 Fails to give the scent I find in thee.  
 To select any in preference to thee  
 Is the work of others not of me.  
 I speak through thy lips anon,  
 No sweeter words can be found than these.  
 Why art thou vexed at my innocent pranks?  
 A fantic man is beyond self-control.  
 I place my life at the altar of thy image  
 Without thee, my life is of no avail.  
 Thou didst ask "Why art thou away from me?"  
 'Tis not due to Hasan but to Heaven's decree.

oooooooooooo

Take and give a kiss, give and take a kiss.

1. D.H., I.O.L., f. 78b.

oooooooooooo

1. D.H., 3-G-L Add. 24,952., f. 194b.



## IV.

ای جان زبیرت دورم دورم زبیرت ای جان (1)

O thou art the Houri of our heavenly assembly,

The Houri<sup>13</sup> at fault when in her jealousy of thee.

O, beloved! away from thy embrace I am, from thy embrace

O fairy fawn one, thou art an idol enchantment of man,

am I away, O, beloved,

Neither the Houri nor the angel possess what thou

Without thee distracted I am, distracted am I without

The Houri is an absolute light like the angel,

thee.

Thou art between them the happy mean.

I am afflicted for thy sake, for thee am I afflicted,

In my body thou occupiest the place of the soul.

Thou wouldst not remedy it I know, I know thou wouldst

In my two eyes thou art like the light.

not do.

I keep my eyes on thy beneficence.

Helpless and poor I am, poor and helpless am I,

Although I know I am far from thee.

With thee am I happy, happy am I with thee.

Whatever befalls me in thy absence.

I have a word to tell thee, to tell thee I have a word,

God willing, I shall tell thee in thy presence.

Thou wouldst not allow I know, I know thou wouldst not

Hasan longs for union with thee, it is impossible,

allow.

How can an art attain to the Kingdom of Solomon?

One beloved I possess out of many, out of many I possess

oooooooooooo

one.

Take and give a kiss, give and take a kiss.

Every moment Hasan speaks to thee, to thee Hasan speaks,

O, beloved! at thy grief I am dying, dying am I at thy

1. D.H., I.O.L., f. 156a.

grief.

oooooooooooo



V.

ای بهشت مجلس ما را توفیق

(1)

O thou art the Houri of our heavenly assembly,  
 The Houri<sup>is</sup> at fault anon in her jealousy of thee.  
 O fairy fa<sup>id</sup> one, thou art an idol enchanter of man,  
 Neither the Houri nor the angel possesses that charm.  
 The Houri is an absolute light like the angel,  
 Thou art between them the happy mean.  
 In my body thou occupiest the place of the soul,  
 In my two eyes thou art like the light.  
 I keep my eyes on thy beneficence,  
 Although I know I am far from thee.  
 Whatever befalls me in thy absence,  
 God willing, I shall tell thee in thy presence.  
 Hasan longs for union with thee, it is impossible,  
 How can an ant attain to the Kingdom of Solomon?.

oooooOooooo

for the Sultan

Doth not possess the rare essence which thou hast.

1. D.H., I.O.L., f. 156b.

1. D.H., Add. 24,952, f. 226.



## VI.

در در صدف آن آب ندارد که تو داری (1)

Doth not possess a single section of the chapter which

The pearl in its shell hath not the lustre which

Give a kiss to Hasan so that he may thou hast, this

The moon in the sky hath not the splendour which thou

For the limpid wine doth not possess the sweet hast. which

With thy beautiful mole and dimple thou art more

luminous than the moon,

The moon lacketh all the beauties that thou hast.

In one silvery well of thine, are a hundred springs of

the water of life,

The stream of life doth not possess the water which

thou hast.

Thy eyes capture the world by a glance, and the narcissus

Doth not get the fortune which thou hast, even in dream.

Thou dost conquer the world with the signet of thy lip,

for the Sultan

Doth not possess the rare essence which thou hast.

which could not be retained in translation. In the first

line it means 'season', and in the second 'chapter of a

1. D.H., Add. 24,952, f. 226.



The new-year's day in its own season with a hundred

petals of rose,

Doth not possess a single section of the chapter which  
thou hast.

Give a kiss to Hasan so that he may be drunk with this  
absence favour,

For the limpid wine doth not possess the sweetness which  
of thy thou hast.

No orchard has a beauty equal to thine,

A rose like thee no garb oooooOooooo

The moon that has cast its beam for a while

Loses its lustre at the appearance of thy face.

Thou hast drawn a line of beauty and I have fallen in love,

The truth of love and mask cannot be concealed.

Come, thou! If my heart goes let it go,

My affliction is of the heart, not of the soul.

How well the mad one spoke last night:-

"He who is devoid of love is devoid of faith."

O, Hasan! what art thou writing again?

+ In this couplet there is a pun upon the word *فصل*  
Hold thy pen, thou hast no command,  
which could not be retained in translation. In the first  
line it means 'season', and in the second 'chapter of a  
book.'



VIII.

VII.

(1)  
 کودیده کنز فراق رخ تو بر آب نیست

(2)

Where is that eye which is not full of tears at the

Because the rose smiled an absence of thy face?

Where is that heart that is not distracted by the pangs

That I may not know whether of thy love? Ten or twenty.

No orchard has a beauty equal to thine, helpless wretch

A rose like thee no garden bears. More destitute than he.

The moon that has cast its beam for a while less than he,

Loses its lustre at the appearance of thy face.

Thou hast drawn a line of beauty and I have fallen in love,

The truth of love and musk cannot be concealed. Exalted.

Come, thou! if my heart goes let it go,

My affliction is of the heart, not of the soul.

How well the mad one spoke last night:-

"He who is devoid of love is devoid of faith."

O, Hasan! what art thou writing again?

Hold thy pen, thou hast no command.

1. D.H., I.O.L. -----oOo-----

2. Cup bearer.

1. D.H., I.O.L., f. 79b.



## VIII.

بیاساقی هنوز آهنگی چیست

(1)

(2)  
Come SáQí, what is this delay now,  
Because the rose smiled and wept.  
Give me the cup full in such a way  
That I may not know whether there are ten or twenty.  
The wise have called the drunken man<sup>a</sup> helpless wretch  
They said well, there's none more destitute than he.  
Know the heart of the sober<sup>b</sup> be more helpless than he,  
It knoweth not what that help<sup>less</sup>fulness is.  
Hasan, if thou desirest leadership in this path  
Thou shouldst live under the foot of the intoxicated.

oooooOooooo

1. D.H., I.O.L., f. 89a.

2. Cup bearer.



## IX.

در دهن که درو دروانگنج (1)

'Tis a pain which no medicine can relieve,  
 None but an afflicted heart can hold.  
 How shall I seek thy union through prayer,  
 When no prayer can comprehend thy name.  
 Drunkard-like I place my head at thy foot,  
 No hypocrisy can find its place in our prayers.  
 Love appeared and reason departed,  
 No two kings can reign in one domain..  
 Beyond comprehension and <sup>magina</sup>inspiration is thy abode,  
 Which wretched Hasan can not reach.

oooooooo

In meeting with her faced like the mirror  
 In describing her tresses, be a hundred tongued like  
 the comb.  
 Thy body is under the clothes of abstinence and the wind  
 towards the cup

---

1. D.H., I.O.L., f. 111a.

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1. D.H., I.O.L., f. 202.



X.

(1) ای حسن عاشق شوگری شوی مردانه شو

O, Hasan, become not a lover, if thou dost, be brave,  
Rend assunder the net of existence, and be like a  
grain to the bird of calamity.

Strengthen thy grasp of ambition and the collar of  
outward separation,  
Be either the lion of the Kāba, or the dog of an idol  
temple.

In the path of the beloved place not thy heart on the  
unknown or the known.

What is this known and unknown? be a stranger even to  
thy <sup>own</sup> self.

In meeting with her face be thou faced like the mirror  
In describing her tresses, be a hundred tongued like  
the comb.

Thy body is under the clothes of abstinence and the mind  
towards the cup

Thou art not a man of this covenant, run after that  
measuring glass.



What dost thou ask of the gain of the world, raise the  
standard of love,

Leave the village to the villagers, be a watchman of  
the ruins.

Like the moth sacrifice thy sweet life in grief for  
the beloved,

If thou desirest to attain fame be famous like this.

Her tresses became a chain to the mad lovers.

O, wise men of the world! if you are wise be mad.

It is the work of the brave to be lovers of lovely

fates

O, Hasan, become not a lover! if thou dost, be brave.

oooooooooooooooo

من تا لب مطلق نشدم و زان پس  
با هیچ لطیف و کف نخشتمه اگر س  
باز آید از اینها همه تو هست علی نور  
و روح همه دانند که کاری نبود آنک  
عنین ز زنا نوبد کند شیک ز غنود



## CHAPTER III

## HIS MINOR POEMS

What dost thou ask of the gain of the world, raise the  
stand\_ard of love,

Leave the village to the villagers, be a watchman of  
the ruins.

Like the moth sacrifice thy sweet life in grief for  
the beloved,

If thou desirest to attain fame be famous like this.

Her tresses became a chain to the mad lovers,

O, wise men of the world! if you are wise be mad.

It is the work of the brave to be lovers of lovely

faces

O, Hasan, become not a lover! if thou dost, be brave.

oooooOooooo



# CHAPTER III

"He who thence HIS MINOR POEMS and rudeness does"

cultivate

A love QIT'A OR FRAGMENTS. The Qit'a or Fragmentary poems of Hasan consists of twenty pieces. One of these is addressed to 'Alá'u'd-Dín Khaljí, and two other poems to Ulugh Khán. Of the rest, some describe the beauties and pleasure of spring, and some are devoted to moral topics and satire of the selfish devotees. In one of his poems he speaks of the self conceited abstinent and devout persons in this way:-

(1) انكس كه نگردد ز خيلى و غليظى  
ذوق مى كوثر صفت از ساقى چون حور  
از وى نه پسندد اگر لافد و گويد  
من تائب مطلق شدم و زاهد مغرور  
باطبع لطيف و كف بخشنده اگر كرس  
باز آيد از اينها همه نورست على نور  
ورخ همه دانند كه كارى نبود اندك  
عنين ز زنا توبه كند شريك ز طنبور

Of these poems, twenty five are addressed to

Sultan 'Alá'u'd-Dín, five to prince Khizr Khán, and the

rest are devoted to prayer and love. The general

1. D.H., I.O.L., f. 227b.

1. Bodl. Ms. (Or. 486) 486/22.



"He who through miserliness and rudeness does not

cultivate

A love for wine, like the water of paradise from a

Houri-like Sáqí,

It does not look well for him to boast and say

'I am an absolute penitent and a proud abstainer.'

If a person with a pleasant disposition and an open

hand,

Denies himself these things it is most praise-worthy;

Otherwise everybody knows that no credit is due

When an impotent renounces adultery and a paralytic

the playing of the tambórine."

RUBÁÍ. The Rubáí's or quatrains written by Hasan are much fewer than his Ghazals. The earliest available manuscript (1) of his Dívān contains 137 poems of this type and the contents of the later copies vary but none exceeds this number.

Of these poems, twenty five are addressed to Sultan 'Alá'u'd-Dín, five to prince KhizrKhán, and the rest are devoted to prayer and love. The general

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1. Bodl. Ms. (Ouseley) 400/22.

1. D.H., I.O.L., f. 243a. 2. Ibid., f. 251b.

3. D.H., I.O.L., f. 255a.



Give me a kiss that brings the reward of thirty fasts.  
 trend of his love-quatrain, with few exceptions is  
 erotic rather than mystical. I give below a trans-  
 lation of some of his poems as specimens of his differ-  
 ent types of quatrain.

## I.

She departed with the dawn leaving me bewailing,  
 O, Thou, whose grace is the cleaner of the slate of  
 ignorance,

Whose mercy is the acceptor of repentance,  
 Comfort my distracted state by Thy grace,  
 O, Comforter of the distracted state."  
 (1)

## II.

In thy promise, O, friend, is there no fulfilment,  
 In thy heart there is nothing but tyranny.  
 Why dost thou shed tears on thy rosy cheek?  
 The rain of spring is never endures."  
 (2)

## III.

Limpid wine began to trickle from his eyes till dawn,  
 With the screen of his eyes, for thy colour  
 Thy lips are better than a thousand turquoises  
 I desire them begging a thousand times,  
 Thou hast said 'it's the month of fasting, speak not

of it,

1. D.H., I.O.L., f. 259b. 2. Ibid, f. 251b.  
 3. Ibid, f. 254a. 2. Ibid, f. 251b.  
 3. D.H., I.O.L., f. 255a.



Give me a kiss that brings the reward of thirty fasts."

IV. (1)

In the house of my eyes that idol of Houri born  
Became a guest for a night and pleased my heart;  
She departed with the dawn leaving me bewailing,  
Deserted is the house without that guest."

V. (2)

Those tears of mine alight on the top of clouds  
This breath of mine affects the dawn;  
They tell me to keep patience in my grief for my  
beloved  
But no limit of patience does my grief possess.

VI. (3)

When the lover heard of thy quick departure  
Limpid wine began to trickle from his eyes till dawn,  
With the screen of his eyes, for thy sojourn  
He has sewn a garment of sleep with the needle of his  
eyelashes.

1. <sup>S.H. 9.0.6.</sup> Ibid, f. 259b.

2. Ibid, f. 254a.

3. Ibid, f. 254a.



## VII. (1)

Beware O, Hasan! walk not negligently on this path.

Beware! thy existence is between a train of non-  
entities.

As thou wert nothing in the primal stage

A hundred times to nothingness thou shalt return.

MASNAVÍ. The Masnaví poems of Hasan are devoted to three distinct types of subjects - eulogistic, moral and romantic. All these poems, except the single romantic one, are short and disconnected pieces, written on different occasions, probably in his leisure hours which he wanted to employ in composition on lighter themes. These small poems do not reveal that amount of burning pathos and frenzy of feeling which we see in his Ghazals and the romantic Masnaví. They are purely descriptive and didactic.

The eulogistic Masnaví poems are devoted to the following topics:-

- (1) A general description of the power and might of Sultan 'Alá'u'd-Dín.
- (2) In commemoration of the suppression of a mutiny in A.H. 700.



- (3) Advent of the spring.
- (4) In praise of the Imperial sword.
- (5) On the birth of a prince.
- (6) On the occasion of proclaiming Khizr Khán as an heir-apparent.
- (7) The marriage of the prince.
- (8) In praise of Ulugh Khán.
- (9) In praise of Shaykh Nizám u'd-Dín Awliyá.
- (10) Three other poems in praise of his learned companions.

Of the Maṣnaví poems on moral topics, the extant manuscript contains only seven. These poems are written after the model of Sa'dí's Bustan in which the poet tells certain stories or relates some sayings of a great man and then moralises on them according to his own light and judgment. Although the number of these poems is very small, they provide interesting reading and throw some light on the ascetic temperament of the poet. I quote below in English extracts of two of these poems to give an idea of the sort of stories Ḥasan tells:-

#### I.

Lord: "How well an ascetic has today spoken who told dog of Thy lane overpowers the lion. Remove my impertinances by Thy grace and accept me as a dog at Thy door.



us to learn the rules of humility from a dog! The dog that rolls about on the dust of humiliation possesses five admirable qualities. First, he has no fixed abode or residence, the corner of adversity is his mansion, and he finds his bed-chamber wherever he is overtaken by night. Secondly, neither from private nor from public charities does he get sufficient food; as none cares for his life so he passes most of his time in hunger. Thirdly, his custom is to pass the greater part of the night in wakefulness, as if he were the lover of the tresses of darkness. Fourthly, in times of trouble and calamity he is never away from his master. Fifthly, at the time of his death he leaves no hoarding behind him; his possessions whether of this world or of the next are the same." After narrating this story the poet says to himself: "O, Hasan! it is perilous to remain asleep, the dog of yourself is worse than the self of a dog. If you have any nobility in you, learn manliness from a dog. Follow in the path (of asceticism) with humility like a dog and say to the All-sufficient Lord: 'O, sustainer of the hungry and the satiated, the dog of Thy lane overpowers the lion. Remove my impertinence by Thy grace and accept me as a dog at Thy door.



Although I am not fit to receive the collar of Thy  
 prey, withhold not from me the favour of being branded  
 (1)  
 by Thee.

## II.

There was a Muslim in the city of Ray who  
 drank wine in the company of a Magian in the month of  
 Ramazan (the month of fasting). The proctor of the  
 city came and wanted to kill both of them. Then the  
 Magian said: 'This is injustice; drinking and fasting  
 make no difference to me. I pay my Jizya (capitation  
 tax), why are you so hard on me. Punish the man who  
 professes your religion.' Then it was decided to  
 punish the Muslim and set the Magian free. When the  
 Muslim said that they would kill him and discharge the  
 Magian he ingeniously remarked: 'O, people of the  
 assembly, it seems that Islam is the cause of my doom,  
 if you want to kill me for being a Muslim, then I  
 declare myself a Magian and the son of a Magian, whose  
 ancestry can be traced to seventy generations. Although  
 it seems disrespectful to say so, yet it is less

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1. D.H., Bodl. No. 780, f. 251.

مردم اندرون مسجد منکر + نواد یکشنبه بود آن حد  
 سال هفتصد و پنجاه و دو و شصت و هشت و نود و ده



disrespectful than the views you hold of Islam.' At this <sup>witty</sup> remark the proctor pardoned his audacity and thus his neck was saved from the sword." After narrating this story the poet says: 'That man is the best who at the time of fear and hope can save his blanket from the water of calamity. Turn the pillar of thy heart towards God; it is the only proper course, (1) however defective it might look from outside.

THE ROMANTIC MASNAVÍ. The romantic Masnaví of Ḥasan, known as the 'Ishq-Námah, or the Hikáyat-i-  
'Áshiq-i-Nágurí' (Book of love or the story of the lover (2) of Nágur ), is a short love-poem consisting of six hundred and six couplets. The whole book, as the poet himself says was composed during a single night on (3) Monday the first of Zú'l-Ḥijjah, A.H. 700 (A.D. 1301) The metre used here is the apocopated hexametre Hajaz (v---/ v---/ v--).

1. D.H. Bodl. Ms. (Ouseley No. 122), f. 254a.
2. Nágur is the name of an old city of Eastern Rájaputana, which now forms a part of Jodhpur State. (Vide Imperial Gazetteer of India, Vol. XVIII).
3. D.H., Bodl. (Ouseley, No. 122). f. 282.

بکردم اندرین چند فکر + سواد یکشنبه بود این همه در  
سال هفتصد این در شد نموده + دو شنبه غره ذوالحجه بوده



"This story The poem is modelled on the romance of Laylá and Majnún of Nizámí of Ganja, which is one of the most popular love-stories in the East, and particularly in India. Khusraw the contemporary of our poet had also written on the same theme of romance, and he had composed five Maṣnavís of this type, collectively known as Panj-Ganj (Five Treasures), dealing with the same legends as Nizámí. But our poet did not follow his predecessors blindly. There is no doubt that he is indebted to Nizámí for the main idea of his poem, but he has selected a theme of his own. The old persian legends, which had been worn threadbare by other writers, did not afford sufficient scope for his imagination. He wanted to discover a new field for his poetic interpretation, and he found it in the Hindu tales. So he selected one of the love stories of his homeland and struck out a new departure. The episode, he says, is not an invention of his imagination but a story well known in the country.<sup>(1)</sup>

نه از خود كردم اين افسانه منظوم  
كه مشهورست اين قصه دران بوم

1. D.H., Bodl. f. 282.

1. D.H., Bodl. (Ousley) 122, f. 282.



"This story was not weaved out of my own fancy,

It is a story well known in that country."

This was rather a bold step on his part to depict the ideal nature of love from the life-story of a young Hindu couple, which was not likely to be well received by the orthodox opinion of the time. The poet anticipated this danger before he began the book, so he replies to this possible charge of heresy in the concluding verses of his poem in the following way:-<sup>(1)</sup>

اشعار عاشقی کا رست جانی  
ز کفر و دین برون است این معانی

"The verse of love is a theme of the soul

It soars beyond faith and infidelity."

The poem opens in praise of God and the prophet and there follows a short eulogy addressed to Hasan's patron, Sultan 'Alá'u'd-Dín Khaljī. Then begins the actual story, which runs thus:-

"During the reign of a certain king there lived a governor in the city of Nágúr. He had built a magnificent palace in the city, surrounded by beautiful gardens, springs and wells. This place was often

1. ~~Ibid.~~ A. H. Bodl. (Owseley) 122, f. 282.



visited by young damsels of exceptional beauty who used to draw water from the wells.

One day a youth happened to pass by it and he became enraptured by the beauty of a damsel who was drawing water. He fell so violently in love with her that he lost control of his senses. His condition gradually became wretched and the whole story became known to the people. Then some of the learned Brahmins came to him and urged upon him to abandon this desire. They proved from their knowledge of astronomy that this union was impossible. But the youth did not pay heed to their counsel and his love for the damsel became more intense than before.

At last when this affair became talked of as a social scandal, one of the relatives of the girl went to the proctor of the city and complained against the youth, accusing him of bringing disgrace and infamy upon their family, and demanded justice. The proctor then arrested the youth and sent him to prison. Thus he passed his days in lamentation and confinement for a period of one year.

تحت نظر حلی پادشاه شد و بی محتاج را حاجت روا شد  
اشارت داد آن گیتی خداوند که بر دارد از هر بدی بند  
چه در شهر چه در اطراف و همه محبوس را فرمود اطلاق



When the youth then obtained his release from prison on the occasion of the accession of Sultan Ghiyás u'd-Dín Balban to the throne of Delhi, when he issued a Farman (decree) proclaiming a general amnesty to all the prisoners in his kingdom.<sup>(1)</sup> The youth, as soon as he received his freedom, ran towards the well where he first saw his beloved. There he met her again and told her in a touching manner of his pitable sufferings on her account. The damsel gave him a few words of consolation, and asked him to be patient for some time more. The youth thus patiently passed a period of fourteen years in great misery, always expecting to have his desire fulfilled. At last the girl took pity on his condition; she came and met him and promised to be united with him within a short time. The youth was overjoyed and waited eagerly. But a few days after, the damsel became seriously ill and died. Her body was then taken to be cremated by the Brahmins.

1. D.H., Bodl. f. 270.

چونوشد سال سلطان سلاطین + معیت الحق غیاث الدین والدین  
تخت مکر دهلی بادشاه شد + بسی محتاج را حاجت روا شد  
اشارت داد آن گیتی خداوند + که بردارند از هر بندی بند  
چه در شهر چه در اطراف + همه محبوس را فرمود اطلاق



When the youth heard the news of the death of his beloved he went mad and ran to the funeral place. He uttered the words "If union with you is denied to me in this world, I shall attain it in the next". Then to the amazement of all, he jumped on to the funeral pyre and was burnt along with his beloved, and thus their ashes were mixed together."

As examples of the manner of this poem, I give below a translation of a few passages, where the poet describes the youth's falling in love with the damsel and his soliloquy after this event:-

### I.

There lived a youth of the caste of the scribe  
A youth of vigilant heart, praised by the wise.  
Steward-like, Saturn stands in front of him,  
Held by the Indians in great esteem.  
One day he strolled towards that spot  
Where his heart an enchanting mistress found.

### 1. (Continued)

This fact of Balban's general amnesty to all the prisoners of the state has been curiously overlooked by the historians of this period.



(1)

Like one circling round the spring of Hút

(2)

He fell a victim to the well of Hárút and Márút.

A damsel standing brisk and gay he saw

Water from the well and blood from him did draw.

An idol of Hindu stock, cruel as a Turk,

Sweet with her lips but cruel with her gaze.

The rope she cast into the bottom of the well,

Served for a ring of love round his neck.

The pail she drew out of the well

From the stream of his eyes brought pails full of

blood.

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1. Chashma-i-Hút = Chashma-i-Máhí, name of a spring coming near which any living thing drops dead. (Burján-i-qáṭi'.)

2. Names of two angels, who having severely censured mankind before the throne of God, was sent down to earth in human shapes to judge of the temptations to which man is subject. They could not withstand them; they were seduced by women, and committed every kind of iniquity; for which they were suspended by the feet in a well in Babylon, where they are to remain in great torment till the day of Judgment. The well of Hárút and Márút is here compared to the chin-dimple of the damsel.



The youth heaved a sigh from his distressed heart

Hard as a fire sprung from a strong<sup>er</sup> bed.

The cruel beauty saw the heart-sick one

Bewildered, with his feet stuck in the mire.

The stranger a captive she found to be

A prey to the noose of the strings of her locks.

She summoned her courage and looked around

A certain fear passed in her innocent mind.

The risk of scandal flashed in her thought,

She left the place and soon did depart.

Remained at the well that wounded-heart forlorn

Trembling like a fish at the departure of that moon.

In grief for that moon for three days and nights

Stars on earth he cast from his eyes.

He would talk his secret to the stars at night

And tell them the tale of his sorrowful plight. (1)

.....

Throw me down in to the well thy hand

Abject dust am I; when wilt thou I return.

Make that resting place a pilgrim's house

Convert that brackish water to the fountain of life.

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1. D.H., Bodl. (Ouseley 122), f. 261.

1. D.H., Bodl. (Ouseley 122), f. 261.



II.

Soliloquy of the youth. (1).

Thou hast killed me but did not tell me thy creed  
What creed is there that sanctions the slaying of the  
helpless one?

You saw me lying senseless on the ground  
Waves of blood surging the breast around.

I was swimming in blood, thou a friend  
Passed by me quite unconcerned.

What sweetheart art thou O, moon  
That sheds the blood of people in the well?

Why dost thou shed the blood of the poor by thy charm  
Whether you want to draw blood or water from the well?

Why dost thou shed the blood, like this in the well  
When thou hast another bloodthirsty dimple?

Dig a well and call it a tomb  
Ask not whether its water be bitter or sweet,

Throw me down in to it with thy hand  
Abject dust am I; unto the dust I return.

Make that resting place a pilgrim's house  
Convert that brakish water to the fountain of life.

What shall I say? What relation have I with thee?

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1. D.H., Bodl. (Cuseley 122), f. 261.



CHAPTER IV

The pearl is dishonoured in mixing with the dust.

.....  
The prose works of Ruzbihan that have survived to us are the Favá'id u'l-Fu'ád, and a short Sharhiya written on the death of Khawá'ir-Rahmáni, the eldest son of Sultan Balban. Another work entitled Sharh al-Awliya, or Lives of Saints, is said to have been written by him, but this book seems to have been lost.

FAVÁ'ID U'L-FU'ÁD. The Favá'id u'l-Fu'ád is a collection of discourses of his spiritual guide Shaykh Nizám u'd-Dín Awliya, made in a number of sittings from the year A.H. 707-722 (A.D. 1300-1322). The custom of the Shaykh was to hold occasional assemblies of his disciples at which he used to discourse on various topics connected with religion, mysticism, and other matters relating to the life of devotees. Most of these discourses are illustrated by anecdotes, mostly drawn from his personal experience and sayings. These discourses were carefully noted down by his disciples and finally published under the above title, with the approval of the Shaykh. At the completion of each chapter the author used to show

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1. The Encyclopaedia of Islam is wrong in stating that these discourses were made from A.H. 717 to 722.



C H A P T E R      I V

PROSE WORKS.

The prose works of Hasan that have survived to us are the Favá'id u'l-Fu'ád, and a short Marṣiya written on the death of Khán-i-Shahíd, the eldest son of Sultan Balban. Another work entitled Siyar<sup>2</sup>-al-Awliya, or Lives of Saints, is said to have been written by him, but this book seems to have been lost.

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it to his spiritual guide for his opinion, and we find that on each occasion he received high approbation for his faithful and systematic reproduction of all the sayings of the Shaykh.

In the opening chapter of the book the author gives the following account of the method of his collection and the reason why he called it Favá'id u'l-Fu'ád: (1)

"These heavenly gems and inimitable ornaments have been collected from the treasure-house of instruction and the secret chamber of infallibility of the Master of rectitude, entitled 'The savior of the universe, the King of the poor and the helpless, Hujwá'u'l-Haqq-al Shar'af-al-Hudá-al-Dín' (May the mercy of God be upon him). Whatever has reached my ears either in the actual form or in its general significance from that lamp of divine assemblage, I have written down according to my simple understanding; and as the minds of afflicted persons would derive benefit from this compendium, so I have named it Favá'id u'l-Fu'ád (The benefits of the soul).

THE MAIN DIVISIONS OF THE BOOK. The book is divided into two separate parts. The first part consists

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1. F.F. Or. 1806 f. 2.



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of four chapters containing the discourses made during a period of twelve lunar years from the third of Sha'bán A.H. 707 to the twenty third of Rajab A.H. 719 <sup>(1)</sup> = A.D. 1307-1319. It was completed, as stated at the end of this part, on Tuesday the second of Shawwál <sup>(2)</sup> A.H. 719 = A.D. 1319. Each of these four chapters is devoted to a fixed period of time, the first chapter contains the discourses made during A.H. 707-709, (A.D. 1307-1309) and consists of thirty four discourses; the second from A.H. 709-712 (A.D. 1309-1312) and consists of thirty seven discourses; the third from A.H. 712-714, (A.D. 1312-1314) and consists of seventeen discourses; the fourth from A.H. 714-719 (A.D. 1314-1319) consisting sixty seven discourses. The second part contains thirty two discourses delivered during a period of three years from the twenty first of Sha'bán A.H. 719 (A.D. 1319) to the nineteenth of Sha'bán A.H. 722 (A.D. 1322). This part was completed on the twentieth day of the month of

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1. <sup>02.1806</sup> ~~7.7.1806~~ Ibid, f. 110. Rieu suggests this date to be the 5th of Jamád II, which is evidently wrong.

2. Ibid, f. 111.

(Vide Ibn-i-Khallikán's Biographical Dictionary, Vol. III, p. 287, and Vol. IV, p. 282)

De Slane, Vol. III, p. 287, and Vol. IV, p. 282



the later year, as the author says in the following

(1) (1)

verses:- the author said that he would present us with

another volume of the discourses that would be made

after the year 722 A.H. up to A.H.

725 and Hasan survived but we are

not in possession of information or anything

was written by him during his life.

چون هفتصد و دو بیست و دو سال  
بستم روز از ماه شعبان  
از انبشارت فواجیه جمع آمد  
این بشارت ده فتوح جهان  
شبنم ما چون محمد آمد نام  
حسن اندر نژاد او حسان

"When twenty and two was added to seven hundred

On the twentieth day of the month of Sha'bán,

Was compiled at the command of the Khvāja

This giver of happy tidings of the conquest of the world.

The fame of our Shaykh is like Muḥammad

(2)

And Ḥasan in his eulogy like Ḥasán.

1. F.F. Or. 1806, f. 132.

2. Ḥassán-ibn-Sābit was one of the Arabian poets who espoused the cause of the prophet. The family to which he belonged had the greatest skill in poetry, for it produced six persons, in succession, all of them poets.

(Vide Ibn-i-Khallikán's Biographical dictionary ed. by De Slane, Vol. III, p. 347, and Vol. IV, p. 259).



7244  
STYLE AND MATTER OF HIS PROSE WORKS.

In the concluding paragraph of the second part, (1) the author said that he would present us with another volume of the discourses that would be made after the year 722 A.H. The Shaykh lived up to A.H. 725 and Hasan survived him a few years more but we are not in possession of information as to whether anything was written by him during the last days of his life.

(1) It is the style of the writers of the age, which we notice also in the writings of the West. I have already given an English translation of this Hargiya, in a previous chapter, from which the reader will be able to judge by himself as to its merits and defects. But in spite of these defects, it has a great value from the historical point of view. Here we find a true and vivid account of an eye-witness, of the circumstances of the death of the Khan-i-Shahid and the battle fought by him against the Mongol hordes.

The Fava'id u'l-Futuh is written in a very easy style, it is simple, direct and effective. It is

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1. Amir Khusrav's 'Ijaz-i-Khusravi' and the Khazain u'l-Futuh are the worst specimens of artificial and insipid prose. It requires a great amount of labour and pain to

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discover the facts underlying beneath the surface of his writing.

1. F.F. Or. 1806, f. 132.



*value*  
STYLE AND NATURE OF HIS PROSE WORKS.     The

two extant prose works, the Marsiya and the Favá'id u'l-Fu'ád are written in two entirely different styles.

One differs so much from the other that it is rather difficult to say that they are the writings of the same person.

The Marsiya is written in a very florid and ornate style, full of far-fetched metaphors and similes; it contains

all the defects of oriental verbosity, a common characteristic of the writers of the age, <sup>(1)</sup> which we seldom see in

the writings of the West. I have already given an

English translation of this Marsiya, in a previous chapter,

from which the reader will be able to judge by himself as to its merits and defects. But in spite of these defects,

it has a great value from the historical point of view.

Here we find a true and vivid account of an eye-witness, of the circumstances of the death of the Khán-i-Shahíd and the battle fought by him against the Mongol hordes.

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a very interesting reading, full of familiar and commonplace idiomatic expressions, which are seldom met with in the work of Indo-persian writers. The simplicity of the style of this book is mainly due to the nature of the subject-matter itself. Hasan had nothing to add to it from his own imagination. His duty was to collect the utterances of the Shaykh and publish them as faithfully as possible. And as these discourses were made in the ordinary language of the day he had no other alternative but to follow them as closely as possible. That is why we find such a great difference between the style of the Favá'id and the Marṣiya, which is a specimen of his original composition.

The Favá'id was considered as a standard code of morality by all the disciples of the Shaykh. Zā-Baranī states that the demand for this book was so great that numerous copies of it were sold immediately after  
(1)  
its compilation. Here are set down the views of the saint on the various aspects of an ascetic's life in relation to its ultimate goal. It also gives us a true insight into his character and his relation with the different grades of society, which incidentally throws

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1. Baranī, p. 346.

1. P.P. of 1300, f. 7a.

2. Ibid, f. 70a.



some light on the social condition of his age, and the influence exerted by the mystics over the people as a whole.

I give below the substance of a few of his discourses to show the nature of his views on life as well as the kind of anecdotes he tells his disciples.

### I.

(1)

#### RENUNCIATION OF THE WORLD.

The renunciation of the world does not consist in remaining in a state of nudity by putting on a piece of loin-cloth. It consists in this:- A man should clothe himself and eat but whatever income he derives, should be spent and no hoarding be made; he should have no inclination for it and his mind should be free from attachment to material gain.

(2)

### II.

#### DISCOURSE ON WORLDLY GOODS.

What things are worldly and what things are not?

There is one thing which is worldly both in

1. F.F. Or 1806, f. 7a.

2. Ibid, f. 70a.



form and meaning, there is another which is not worldly either in meaning or form. There is one thing which does not appear to be worldly in form but in reality it is so; there is another which is worldly in form but not in meaning.

Whatever is in excess of one's requirements is a worldly thing both in its form and meaning; that which is not worldly either in meaning and form is one's sincere devotion. That which is not worldly in form but worldly in essence is the devotion performed for one's personal gain. That which is worldly in form but not in sense, is the discharge of one's obligation to one's wife, the obligation of conjugal love. Although this action seems to be secular, its essence is not so.

(1)

III.

ANECDOTES ILLUSTRATING HOW A WORLDLY LOVE CAN  
BE TURNED INTO A DIVINE LOVE:-

(A) Once a certain Darvish saw a princess. The princess showed her feeling for him, and both of them fell in love. The princess sent a messenger to the Darvish saying "You are a Darvish so it is very difficult



for me to be united with you; but there is one way, and if you follow it, probably I shall be able to meet you. That way is that you should pretend to be a great devotee, betake yourself to a mosque and be busy in devotion and prayer till you are talked of by everybody. When you become famous for your piety and saintliness then I shall take the permission of my father to go to you for your blessing, and thus I shall meet you."

According to her instructions the Darvish betook himself to a mosque and deeply engaged in devotion and prayer. When he began to feel the ardour of devotion, his mind became absolutely devoted to God, and his fame became widespread. The princess then obtained her father's permission and came to see him. But she did not find any inclination in him towards her; then she said to him "Have not I taught you this trick? What has happened to you now that you do not look at me?" When she began to urge these things upon him, he replied "Who are you? I do not know you." Thus he turned his mind from her and directed it towards God.

(B) A man named 'Abdulláh Mubáarak, during his young days was in love with a woman. One night he came near the wall of her house and the woman came to meet him



through the window; thus they passed the whole night from evening till dawn talking with one another, till they heard the call for morning prayer. 'Abdu'lláh thought it to be the night prayer-call, but when he looked round he saw it was morning. At this moment he heard an invisible voice telling him "O, 'Abdu'lláh! you have kept yourself awake from the beginning of evening till dawn for the love of a woman; did you ever keep any night awake like this for the sake of God?" When 'Abdu'lláh heard this, he repented his action and devoted himself entirely to the service of God.

#### IV.

(1)

#### DISCOURSE ON CHARITY.

It is a very meritorious act to give food to the people. Khvāja 'Alí the son of Khvāja Buzurg Rukn-u'd-Dín Chistí (mercy of God be on them both) was taken captive at the time of the Tátár invasion. He was taken to Chingíz Khán. One of the disciples of that family was present at the camp. When he saw Khvāja-'Alí to be a captive he was very much perturbed and began



to ponder within himself how he might discover some means for his release and how he might represent the matter to Chingíz Khán. If he said that the Khvájá belonged to a highly respectable family it would produce no effect on Chingíz Khán, nor would the mention of his prayer and devotion be of any avail; so after thinking for some time he decided upon a plan and went to Chingíz Khán and said: "The father of this man was a great person who used to give food to the people so that he could be released." Then Chingíz-Khán asked him: "Did he give food to his own people or to the strangers?" The man replied: "Every man gives food to his own people as well as to strangers but his father gave food to the strangers alone." Chingíz Khán became very much pleased at these words and said: "What a good man he must have been who supplied food to the creatures of God." Then he ordered his release and presented him with a robe of honour and apologised to him for his detention.

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